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*The Mother
of God in
Byzantium*

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THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS ❖ UNIVERSITY PARK, PENNSYLVANIA

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❖ NOTE ON THE transliteration
OF SLAVIC AND GREEK

For Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, I have followed the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* style sheet. For medieval and Modern Greek, I have used the system in H. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920; rpt. 1984), 7, without the markings denoting the length of vowels. For all the Byzantine names, I have used the spellings offered in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); hence Hodegon and not Hodegoi, but Blachernai. For the names of a few contemporary Greek scholars, I have used the spelling as it has appeared in publications, i.e., P. Agapitos and not Agapetos, and V. Limberis and not B. Limberes. Biblical quotations are given according to the Greek Septuagint: *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935; rpt. 1975).

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❖ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this book was supported by Harvard Merit, Norton, and Mellon predoctoral fellowships; a Junior Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks; a Mellon postdoctoral fellowship at Columbia University; and a postdoctoral fellowship at the Onassis Foundation, Greece.

For the images and copyright permissions, I owe thanks to Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, Sümer Atasoy, Armine Badalyan, Panorea Benatou, Amy Brauer, Sarah Brooks, Francesco Buranelli, Jean-Claude Cheynet, Dorothy Davila, Humberto DeLuigi, Helen Evans, Ulla Harmsen, Katherine Hill, Yohei Igarashi, Dimitrios Konstantinos, Miodrag Marković, Boris Marshak, Gertraud Reynolds, Niki Savvides, Elke Schwichtenberg, Brooke Shilling, Sophocles Sophocleos, Elena Stepanova, Massimo Taruffi, Aliki Tsigialou, Yannis Varalis, Sever Voicu, Marta Zlotnik and, most of all, Natalia Teteriatnikov.

I also thank the following librarians: Irene Vaslef and Mark Zapatka at Dumbarton Oaks, Amanda Bowen and Catherine Wolcott at Harvard University, and Alex Ross at Stanford University. In addition, I owe thanks to LeeAnn Brown, my undergraduate research assistant for her help in the last stages of this project.

I am grateful to Keith Monley for his excellent copyediting, to Regina Starace for the book's beautiful design, to Patty Mitchell for leading me through bibliographic requirements and the page-proof process,

and to Eva Prionas for checking the orthography of the Greek passages.

I thank the following scholars, with whom I have discussed aspects of this research: Panayiotis Agapitos, Dimiter Angelov, Michele Bacci, Hilary Ballon, Elizabeth Bolman, Averil Cameron, Joseph Connors, Kathleen Corrigan, Slobodan Ćurčić, Evangelos Chrysos, Anthony Cutler, George Dennis, Tracy Ehrlich, Beate Fricke, Sharon Gerstel, Marilyn Heldman, Judith Herrin, Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, Natalie Kampen, Anna Kartsonis, Holger Klein, Antien Knaap, Rachel Kousser, Anne McClannan, Henry Maguire, Maria Mavroudi, Cecile Morrisson, Stephen Murray, Robert Nelson, Robert Ousterhout, John Nesbitt, Valentino Pace, Maria Panayotidi, Eustratios Papaioannou, Kiril Pavlikianov, Brigitte Pitarakis, Martin Schulz, Werner Seibt, Nancy Ševčenko, Tatyana Sizonenko, Christina Spanou, Robert Taft, Nicolette Trahoulia, Niki Tsironis, and Bryan Wolf.

A few people have read chapters and followed the development of my research more closely: Alexander Alexakis, Christina Angelidi, Leslie Brubaker, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Nicholas Conostas, John Duffy, Antony Eastmond, Jeffrey Hamburger, Gloria Kury, Michael McCormick, Paul Magdalino, Christina Maranci, Clemente Marconi, Maria Mavroudi, Alice-Mary Talbot, Maria Vassilaki, Irene Winter, and Gerhard Wolf. I owe special thanks to Ioli Kalavrezou, who was my dissertation advisor and directed me to the topic of the

Mother of God in Byzantium, and most of all to Herbert Kessler, whose advice and inspiration have always provided me guidance.

For their loving support I thank my husband, Stephen Atkinson, my sister, Rossitza Pentcheva, and my mother, Olga Zakharieva. It was my father, Vladimir Pentchev, whose fascination with Byzantium inspired me to take this path.

Three chapters are based on already published articles: Chapter 2 is a revised version of "The Supernatural Defender of Constantinople: The Virgin and Her Icons in the Tradition of the Avar Siege," *Byzan-*

tine and Modern Greek Studies 26 (2002): 2–41. Chapter 4 includes a section from "The Activated Icon: The Hodegetria Procession and Mary's Eisodos," in *Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Chapter 5 is a revised version of "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the 'Usual Miracle' at the Blachernai," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (2000): 34–55. I thank the president and fellows of Harvard University at *Res*, John Haldon at *BMGS*, and Maria Vassilaki at Ashgate for granting me permission to reprint this material.

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Constantine V 741–75
Leo IV 775–80
Constantine VI 780–97
Eirene 797–802
Nikephoros I 802–11
Staurakios 811
Michael I Rangabe 811–13
Leo V the Armenian 813–20

AMORIAN DYNASTY 820–67

Michael II 820–29
Theophilos 829–42
Michael III 842–67

MACEDONIAN DYNASTY 867–1056

Basil I 867–86
Leo VI 886–912
Alexander 912–13
Constantine VII 913–59
Romanos I Lekapenos 920–44
Romanos II 959–63
Nikephoros II Phokas 963–69
John I Tzimiskes 969–76
Basil II 976–1025
Constantine VIII 1025–28
Romanos III Argyros 1028–34
Michael IV 1034–41
Michael V 1041–42
Zoe and Theodora 1042
Constantine IX Monomachos 1042–55
Theodora (again) 1055–56
Michael VI 1056–57
Isaakios I Komnenos 1057–59

DOUKAS DYNASTY 1059–78

Constantine X Doukas 1059–67
 Romanos IV Diogenes 1068–71
 Michael VII Doukas 1071–78
 Nikephoros III Botaneiates 1078–81

KOMNENIAN DYNASTY 1081–1185

Alexios I Komnenos 1081–1118
 John II Komnenos 1118–43

Manuel I Komnenos 1143–80

Alexios II Komnenos 1180–83
 Andronikos I 1183–85

ANGELOI DYNASTY 1185–1204

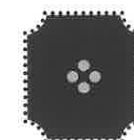
Isaakios II Angelos 1185–95
 Alexios III Angelos 1195–1203
 Isaakios II (again) and Alexios IV Angelos 1203–4
 Alexios V 1204

Introduction

A book that explores the role of icons of the Mother of God in Byzantium has long been a lacuna in the study of medieval visual culture. The two main contributions in the field, David Freedberg's *Power of Images* (Chicago, 1989) and Hans Belting's *Likeness and Presence* (in German, Bonn, 1990; English tr., Chicago, 1994), were the first to draw attention to the role of cult images in society.¹ Their large thematic, chronological, and geographic scopes precluded close analysis of the primary sources or concentration on Marian images. At the same time, the major studies on the cult of the Virgin (Graef's *Mary*, 1963; Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex*, 1976; Pelikan's *Mary Through the Centuries*, 1996) have primarily focused on issues of theology and have not engaged the material expression of devotion and the ritual practices.² By contrast, this book contends that icons of the Theotokos are fundamental to the understanding of the Marian cult and medieval visual culture.

Byzantine image theory is based on the dogma of the Incarnation. Once the virginal body of Mary received and gave flesh to the divine Word, it offered relative holiness to matter, validated the circumscription of the divine in a human form, and legitimized the production and veneration of images. Icons of the Mother and Child not only form an Orthodox defense of the visual and material, but also bestow power to the pictorial form to mediate the exchange between the divine and human spheres.

Byzantium has traditionally been considered a culture of icons that consolidated in the sixth century, was interrupted by Iconoclasm (A.D. 730–843), but was then reestablished after the victory of the so-called Orthodoxy in 843.³ This



position, still prevalent in the studies by Belting, has recently been challenged in a series of articles.⁴ Yet no monographic study has reconsidered the evolution of icon-centered Byzantine visual identity and rooted the discussion in the textual tradition.

When did the Byzantine icon-centered identity emerge? The present book attempts to answer this question by focusing on the cult of the Virgin Mary in Constantinople from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. The Theotokos was perceived as the protector of the capital and the state. But the way her power was manifested changed over time. Previous studies have centered either on the early cult or on its later manifestation, failing to grasp and explain its transformation. Drawing on medieval image theory and representations of Mary in a variety of media, including seals, panel-paintings, miniatures, and mosaics, this book argues that devotion to the Mother of God changed from a relic-based to an icon-centered cult in the period after Iconoclasm. Subsequently, a network of public processions with Marian images developed in Constantinople and triggered the establishment of similar ritual practices in the rest of the Eastern Orthodox world.

In addition to icons, this book also sets out to explore how the cult of the Mother of God embodied political ideas and promoted the concept of empire. She was perceived as a guarantor of imperial victory and legitimacy, thus inheriting the functions of the Roman Victoria. It is in Byzantium where this powerful link between Marian devotion and the idea of empire became established and from which it then spread to the rest of the medieval world. Therefore, it is important to explore how her Byzantine cult was staged. As the eastern half of the Roman Empire, Byzantium's identity was defined by Roman law, Greek language, and Christian religion. Its capital, Constantinople, became the New Rome. In this setting the figure of the Mother of God rose to become the protector of city and state, whose undefeatable power stemmed from her paradoxical virginal motherhood.

Her influential state role is revealed in the words with which she was addressed in Byzantium: *Theotokos* (Bearer of God) and *Meter Theou* (Mother of God). Both terms speak of power and contrast sharply with our current Western perception of Mary as a tender and delicate figure, revealed in the terms by which she is called: Virgin or Madonna ("My Lady," a term that derives from the twelfth-century medieval culture of love). For the Byzantines and even today within the Orthodox East, Mary is the powerful Mother of God: *Theotokos*, *Meter Theou*, *Theometor*, *Panagia* (All Holy), or *Bogorodica*, and *Mati Božija* (Mother of God).

For years the study of the cult of the Theotokos in Byzantium was mainly focused on the establishment of iconographic types. This approach was promoted by the two seminal publications of Nikolai Lihačev and Nikodim Kondakov

written in the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵ Both works focused on the formation and spread of iconographic types of the Theotokos. Lihačev gathered and explored mainly Marian representations on seals, whereas Kondakov collected Greek and Latin texts and images in all media in order to establish how a few miracle-working icons gave rise to the formation of visual formulas. Kondakov's theory of types has exercised a strong influence on the subsequent scholarship of the Theotokos.⁶ Marian representations have thus often been examined in terms of types and discussed from the point of view of style.

Of the very few scholars who have attempted to reevaluate the relationship Kondakov posited between a name and a visual schema, André Grabar was the first.⁷ He argued that Kondakov's theory holds true with regard to types based on toponymic terms (those deriving from the names of the sites where the icons were kept). At the same time, Grabar discerned the existence of so-called qualitative or poetic names, which derive from hymnology and refer to the powers of the Mother of God. These epithets do not identify any particular image type of the Theotokos and can thus be indiscriminately attached to any Marian depiction. My study explores how poetic names define the function of icons.

New advances in the field of Byzantine literature have also contributed to the study of Marian images. Paul Speck and Alexander Alexakis have focused on the Byzantine theory of images produced during the period of Iconoclasm.⁸ They have exposed the complexity of texts written in defense or refutation of images, and the presence of interpolations about images added at a later date. In addition, new editions of Byzantine and Latin sources have enabled the reevaluation of the written tradition of several miraculous icons.⁹ The recent studies by Averil Cameron on the Mandyion image of Christ, Christine Angelidi on the Hodegetria, and Gerhard Wolf on the icon of the Virgin in Santa Maria Maggiore have uncovered the role of cult icons in society. By deconstructing the written traditions, these scholars have revealed the changing social practices and beliefs manifested in the use of images.¹⁰ Similarly, the new computerized database of Byzantine texts, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, has made possible a more efficient exploration of a vast number of written sources.

Starting in the sixties and continuing through the eighties, art-historical exploration of the cult of the Theotokos primarily focused on the early pre-Iconoclast period.¹¹ The interest has only recently shifted to the later centuries, and with this shift attention has been redirected away from iconographic and stylistic considerations and toward a more functional analysis of the role of images in society.¹² Following the "iconic revolution" spurred by Belting's and Freedberg's books, Annemarie Weyl Carr has explored aspects of the public role of icons and relics of the Mother of God in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine traditions.¹³ Nancy Ševčenko has opened new ground in the study of the role

of icons in the liturgy.¹⁴ Ioli Kalavrezou has examined the creation of new visual formulas, in the post-Iconoclast period, that expressed the Orthodox dogma of images.¹⁵ The recent Russian publications edited by Alexei Lidov have also advanced a contextual approach to the analysis of Byzantine and Russian icons.¹⁶ Finally, a recent exhibition organized at the Benaki Museum has offered a substantial collection of Marian images and recent studies on the cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium.¹⁷ Yet no monographic study has offered a comprehensive account of the development of the Marian cult in Constantinople.

This book not only covers a broad span of media ranging from seals to monumental painting, but also engages in systematic collection, translation, analysis, and interpretation of a wide range of written sources that include chronicles, homilies, hymns, and epigrams. The textual tradition records the multiple functions of icons in the religious practices of Byzantium. The close link between art and text, already demonstrated in Henry Maguire's fundamental book, *Art and Eloquence*, is here expanded.¹⁸ The analysis of hymns, homilies, and epigrams is employed to uncover the rhetorical structure of images and explore their visual strategies. By considering both the written and visual traditions, this book sets out to deconstruct the legends concerning famous Marian images and thereby uncover the historical development of Marian devotion in Constantinople and the gradual establishment of a Byzantine identity linked to icons and icon processions.

This study focuses on three major monasteries in the Byzantine capital—the Blachernai, the Hodegon, and the Pantokrator—and proceeds to weave a narrative of conflict and synthesis of the rituals of these Marian centers and their role in shaping imperial ideology. The Blachernai, one of the earliest sanctuaries, promoted the concept of the Theotokos as a guarantor of imperial victory and protection. The monastery was situated at the northwestern end of the city, outside the circumference of the walls and in constant danger of barbarian attacks. In the beginning, the miraculous powers of the Mother of God were invested in the holy spring and the relic of Mary's robe. Emperors came to pray at the Blachernai before leaving on military campaigns. A weekly Friday service was also celebrated here, followed by a procession. People believed that these weekly ceremonies activated the power of Mary. Similarly, the monastery became the site for an annual feast offering thanks to the Theotokos for securing victory over the enemies in the past. The ritual was called the Akathistos, after the name of the famous hymn sung on this occasion. Icons were gradually introduced into these services and processions. The Blachernai monastery thus rose as the site where Mary's relics and icons and celebration of her past victories over the barbarians secured protection of the capital and imperial triumph.

In the course of the eleventh century, a new icon from a different monastery took over the functions of the Blachernai: the Hodegetria, meaning "she who leads the way." It was housed in a sanctuary called the Hodegon and became the major icon of the weekly processions of its monastery. Through these ceremonies, the Hodegetria acquired public prominence that led to its eventual integration into the established annual Akathistos celebration at the Blachernai. It is this annual service that fostered the belief in the Hodegetria as the material vehicle through which Mary's protection of Constantinople became manifest.

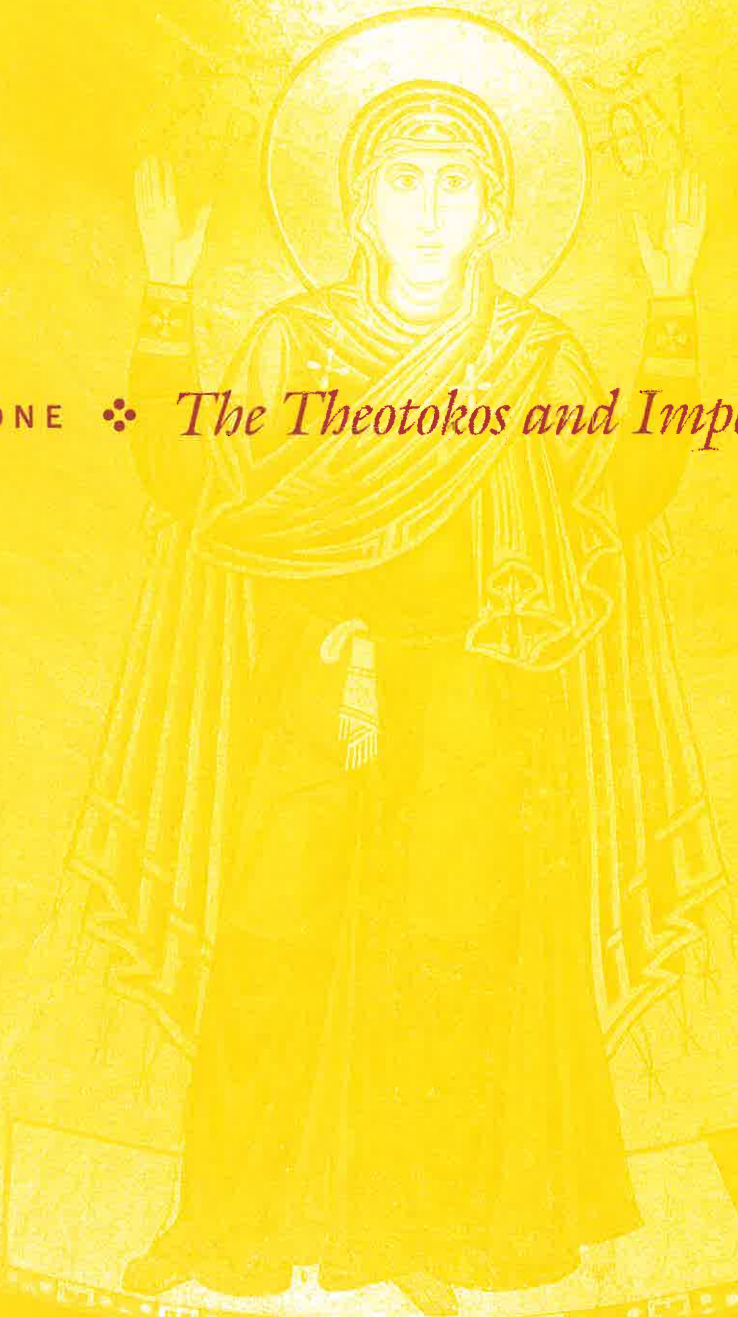
The increasing role of icon processions in the public expression of the cult of the Mother of God led Byzantine emperors to seek the power of Marian images to promote the dynasty of the Komnenoi and consolidate the increasingly hereditary model of imperial power. John II Komnenos (1118–43) built a new imperial mausoleum at the monastery of Christ Pantokrator ("ruler over all/everything") and co-opted elements of the rituals of both the Blachernai and the Hodegon. On Fridays, the traditional procession of the Blachernai was made to stop at the Pantokrator monastery for a weekly commemorative service. Similarly, a new *litania* required the Hodegetria to be brought to the Pantokrator monastery for the annual commemorative rituals. Through these ceremonies the emperors were able to draw their subjects into the imperial cult, secure their rule, and ensure life after death.

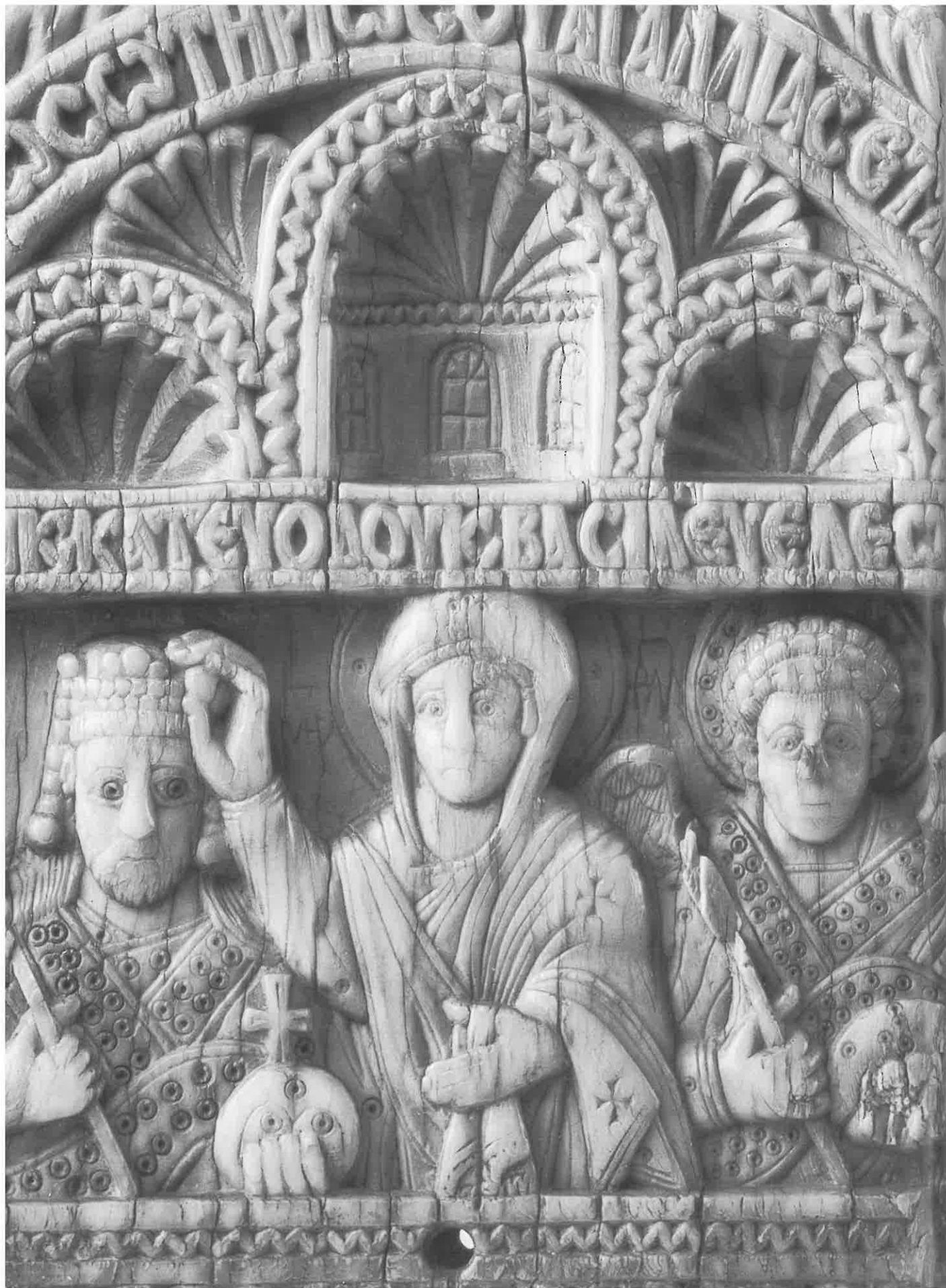
In response to the increasing role of icons in Marian public devotion, new iconographic types developed after Iconoclasm. As this study reveals, the Hodegetria was one of these new visual formulas, as were several other image types exemplified by the icons of the Blachernai monastery. The uncovering of a Middle Byzantine date for these visual schemas offers a new understanding of the origins and development of Marian iconography.

The material is organized in two parts: Part I focuses on the link between devotion to the Theotokos and imperial power; Part II draws attention to the use of Marian icons in public ceremonies. Each part consists of three chapters. In Part I, Chapter 1 explores the establishment of the early civic cult of the Theotokos in Constantinople; Chapter 2 focuses on the textual tradition of the Avar and Arab sieges of the capital, the gradual emergence of icon processions, and the transformation of the memory of the past; Chapter 3 examines the concept of virginal motherhood that is fundamental to the understanding of the role of the Theotokos and her images in the context of war. In Part II, Chapter 4 deconstructs the myth of the Hodegetria and explores the character and significance of the Tuesday processions (*litaniai*) of this panel; Chapter 5 returns to the Blachernai site and discusses the emergence of new cult practices, such as the "usual miracle" created in response to the challenge of the increasing public

presence of the Hodegetria and its processions; and Chapter 6 focuses on the *litaniai* with icons at the funeral site of the Pantokrator monastery and the role of Marian panels of the Blachernai and Hodegon in the development of imperial commemorative ceremonies. In presenting the structure of devotion to the Mother of God in Constantinople, this book uncovers the original Byzantine template that inspired the politically motivated and image-centered civic cults of the Virgin Mary in both the Orthodox East and the Latin West.

PART ONE ❖ *The Theotokos and Imperial Power*





Origins of the Civic Cult

I

Christianity started as a faith that recognized a single male God and creator. This formulation went against the established pagan religions, with their syncretic polytheistic character and strong presence of cults of mother goddesses (Isis, Magna Mater, Demeter, Kybele). Due to its monotheistic formulation, early Christianity diverted attention from Mary and initially left unsatisfied a deep-seated human need for maternal protection and understanding.¹ As a result of this early trend, the life and character of the Virgin received little attention in the New Testament.² Her presence was confined to the main stories of the events later known as the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, and the Crucifixion. Only the Apocrypha furnished more facts about her life and character. For instance, the *Protoevangelion* of James, written in the second century, gives a detailed account of her birth and childhood.³ The importance of the figure of Mary came to be recognized in the patristic writings of the fourth and fifth centuries. This development resulted from the rise of the Christological controversies focused on the Incarnation. At this point, Mary's virginal motherhood offered the pivotal argument in defense of the paradoxical coexistence of the human and divine natures in the Savior.

Yet, in addition to fulfilling a basic human need for protection and offering support for theological positions, the figure of Mary soon started to play a vital political role. The Virgin supported the idea of empire in Byzantium.⁴ She appropriated the functions of the former civic deities such as Tyche and Victoria and in doing so legitimized and protected imperial power. The political potential of the figure of Mary attracted imperial patronage in the fifth century.⁵

IMPERIAL SPONSORSHIP OF MARIAN SANCTUARIES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

By the second half of the fifth century the imperial family had started to promote Marian devotion.⁶ An enigmatic church built in the old Constantinian palace, the Daphne, was among the earliest sanctuaries dedicated to the Virgin.⁷ It was called the "first-built," or *protoktistos*, which suggests a date before the mid-fifth century. According to the description of the imperial ceremonies, the chapel was situated close to the throne room and thus associated with the seat of imperial power. Soon after, in 474, the emperors Leo and Verina built the chapel, or *soros*, of the Blachernai, situated on imperial lands outside the land walls at the time. Later on, Verina herself initiated the construction of the church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateia (situated in the downtown area facing Hagia Sophia) (fig. 1).⁸ The list of Marian foundations continued to grow in the sixth century; it included the monasteries at the Pege (outside the land walls) and the Hiereia (on the Asia Minor coast facing the city), both built on imperial estates.⁹

The Blachernai was the most prominent of all these foundations; it quickly became the main public site for the imperial cult of the Theotokos.¹⁰ The founders of the *soros*, Emperor Leo and Empress Verina, were depicted together with their children flanking an image of the enthroned Mother and Child.¹¹ Justin I (518–27) continued the imperial patronage of the Blachernai and started the construction of a basilica.¹² Justinian (527–65) completed the project and stole all the credit for it.¹³ In the second half of the sixth century Justin II and Sophia restored and remodeled the Blachernai complex.¹⁴

The imperial interest in promoting devotion to the Theotokos is also manifested in the institution of the main Marian feasts. Around 530–50 Emperor Justinian fixed the public celebration of the Annunciation on March 25; he also instituted the feasts of Mary's Nativity (September 8) and Entry into the Temple (November 21).¹⁵ According to a much later written tradition, the emperor Maurice (582–602) established the feast of the Koimesis, or Dormition, of the Theotokos, to be celebrated on August 15 at the Blachernai church.¹⁶ Later sources also attribute to Maurice the inauguration of the Friday service at the Blachernai, the so-called *presbeia*, or intercession.¹⁷ This was one of the main public ceremonies in the city, and many rituals developed around it.¹⁸

THE AKATHISTOS AS AN IMPERIAL VISION OF MARY

What triggered imperial interest in Marian devotion? Some answers to this question are given by the Akathistos hymn,¹⁹ which constructs an image of Mary that has explicit state functions. The Akathistos, one of the most influential texts in Byzantine literature, played an important role in the liturgical rituals of the time, and is still sung in the Orthodox churches today. Its twenty-four

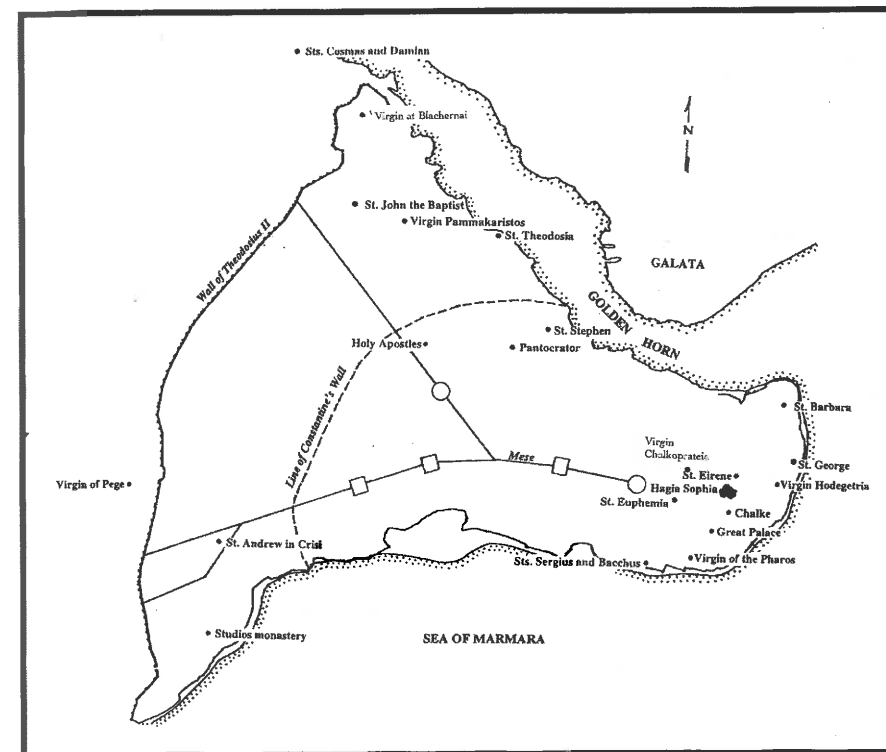


Figure 1
Map of Constantinople.
Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine
Photograph and Fieldwork
Archives.

stanzas tell the story of the incarnation and birth of Christ, then praise the numerous powers of Mary, and end with an address to the Virgin for help and protection. The text combines concepts issuing from the Old and New Testaments and patristic literature on the Virgin, on the one hand, and the ideology of imperial victory, on the other.²⁰ For the purposes of this book, my discussion focuses on the civic-imperial images in the Akathistos.

Each odd-number verse includes multiple salutations (*charetismoi*) to Mary, introduced by the word "hail." The use of *charetismoi* became popular in hymns written during and after the Council of Ephesos, in 431.²¹ Some of these salutations draw on the tradition of acclamations addressed to the emperor on his triumphal return from military expeditions.²² In the twenty-third stanza Mary is called "the diadem of pious kings," an "immovable tower of the Church," and an "impregnable wall of the kingdom"; through her "trophies are raised up" and "enemies fall."²³ These metaphors, based on attributes or symbols of power, tie the figure of Mary to the imperial sphere. The crown, wall, and trophy recall Tyche and Victoria, the two civic deities holding a prominent place in imperial political thought. Both functioned as guarantors of imperial rule. Their roles were symbolically expressed through their attributes. Victoria placed a crown of victory on the emperor's head, while Tyche wore a turreted diadem, alluding to her powers to protect the city and ensure its prosperity and

safety (figs. 2, 3). When Mary is called the “crown,” she becomes a Victoria: a guarantor of imperial victory and legitimacy. The transference of attributes signifies the transference of functions. As “the impregnable wall,” Mary appropriates the role of Tyche as well. This association is enhanced by address to the Virgin as a “flower of incorruption” (*anthos tes aphtharsias*).²⁴ The word *anthos* (“flower”), phonetically recalls the name of the Tyche of Constantinople, Anthousa (“the Blossoming One”).²⁵ The Theotokos thus takes on the name and functions of the Tyche of Constantinople.

Independent from the author’s intentions, the audience of the Akathistos would have been inclined to make these associations between the emerging image of the Theotokos and the traditional civic deities. The presentation of Mary as a protector of the city and bringer of victory would immediately have resonated in the visual culture and imperial ideology of Constantinople in the fifth and sixth centuries. Speeches magnifying the victory and virtues of the emperor were pronounced in civic spaces like the Tetrastōn, the Forum of Constantine, and the Hippodrome, where the monumental statues of Tyche and Victoria still stood as powerful visual embodiments of imperial victory and the prosperity of the state.²⁶ The same images that conveyed imperial ideology continued to appear on the official coinage: Tyche until the late sixth century (coins of Justin II), and Victoria until the early seventh (coins of Phokas).²⁷ The ubiquity of these civic deities enabled the listener/viewer of the Akathistos to associate the older civic deities with the emerging image of Mary as protector of the emperor and the city.

The metaphors in the Akathistos fostered the intensity of this association. In the course of the hymn the image of the Theotokos transforms from a vessel of the Incarnation to an active power able to secure victory and protection. The Akathistos thus offers a novel understanding of the civic role of Mary. Although the hymn is inspired by the early-fifth-century homilies of Proklos, it builds a more powerful image of the Virgin. While Mary functions simply as a vessel of the Incarnation in the writings of Proklos, she is an active figure in the Akathistos, vanquishing the enemies and protecting the empire.²⁸ It is not surprising, then, that direct entreaty for help is addressed to her in the last verse: “Oh Mother hymned by all, you who gave birth to the Word, the holiest of holy, accepting this present offering, deliver from every evil and from the punishment to come all those who cry to you: Alleluia!”²⁹ While all the other short verses finishing with the refrain “alleluia” discuss the power of Christ, the twenty-fourth and last stanza invokes only Mary.

The Akathistos builds an unprecedented image of power for Mary and endows her figure with state functions. This new understanding of the Theotokos allows us to raise the question about the date of the hymn, still a subject of debate. In the past most scholars dated the hymn to the sixth century,



Figure 2
Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Justin II (565–78). Obverse: the winged Victoria raises a crown to the emperor’s head. Reverse: the enthroned Tyche of Constantinople holds the symbols of power: the *globus cruciger* and the scepter. The inscription reads: “Victory of the emperors.” Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

with the establishment of the feast of the Nativity by Emperor Justinian in 530 as a *terminus ante quem*.³⁰ By contrast, the two most recent studies have proposed a date in the early fifth century, more specifically the period A.D. 431–51. Both Vasiliki Limberis and Leena Peltomaa attribute the creation of the hymn to the supposed intensification of Marian devotion during or immediately after the Council of Ephesos, in 431.³¹ The strongest argument in favor of this dating is the close connection between the Akathistos and the content and rhetorical style of the writings of Proklos (d. 446).³² Yet many of the other arguments expressed in these two studies are problematic.

Limberis relies on the alleged involvement of Empress Pulcheria (414–53) in the promotion of Marian devotion during this period.³³ With the new interest in gender studies, this myth has exerted considerable influence on the imagination of scholars of today.³⁴ Yet Pulcheria’s involvement with the Council of Ephesos arises from a tradition created in a later period; it has been proved that Pulcheria did not support Proklos before or immediately after Ephesos, nor did she build Marian churches or bring miraculous icons of the Theotokos into the capital, as the later Byzantine texts claim.³⁵ The actual foundation of sanctuaries and collection of Marian relics did not start until several decades after Pulcheria’s death.

Peltomaa’s early dating of the Akathistos is based on theology. She argues that the hymn lacks elements of the Christology established by the Council of Chalcedon in 451; hence it should date to the period before, 431–51.³⁶ But the last two strophes of the hymn present Mary as a powerful figure linked to the imperial cult; such a development has no place in the early fifth century. Only in the 470s are there signs of the emergence of a civic cult of the Virgin in Con-



Figure 3
Bronze statuette of a Tyche, fourth–fifth centuries. She wears a mural crown on her head and holds a cornucopia and a scepter (now missing). The crown consists of a city wall with a main gate and arcades. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1947.

stantinople sponsored by the imperial family and characterized by the construction of Marian churches and the establishment of public feasts. The Akathistos hymn fits better in the period from the late fifth to the early sixth century. Consequently, the traditional dating of the hymn by Grosdidier de Matons remains the most reliable.

The relatively late emergence of the Akathistos leads to reconsideration of the importance of the Council of Ephesos. The latter bestowed on Mary the

name Theotokos, or "Bearer of God."³⁷ But did the Council of Ephesos really foster the development of Marian devotion in Constantinople, a position traditionally upheld among Marian scholars? The evidence in Constantinople suggests a different picture. Unlike Rome, where the church of Santa Maria Maggiore was built in the 430s, the construction of sanctuaries dedicated

to the Theotokos in the eastern capital did not start until the 470s. Stephen Benko has already raised the question of the role played by the Council of Ephesos. He has argued that Ephesos put Christology and not Mariology at the center of the deliberations.³⁸ The term *theotokos* was used by the church fathers of the council to define Christ, not to elevate the status of Mary. *Theotokos* was intended to explain the nature of Christ as both divine (*theo-*) and human (*-tokos*, "born"). The extant evidence about the building of Marian sanctuaries and the establishment of her feast days in Constantinople suggests that the later Council of Chalcedon, in 451, might have played a more important role in the establishment and promotion of the state cult of the Theotokos. Two issues remain for future study: the role played by the Council of Ephesos in the early Marian civic cult, and Marian devotion in Constantinople in the second half of the fifth century, after the Council of Chalcedon, that is, the actual period of rapid and effective promotion of her cult in the capital.

DIVINE HEIRESS OF CIVIC DEITIES

As discussed above, in the last two stanzas of the Akathistos Mary appropriates the function of the established civic deities of the empire. But though Mary's victory over the traditional civic deities is total and undisputed in the hymn, her rise to preeminence in the Byzantine visual tradition was much slower and less clear. While the Theotokos appropriated their state functions, their images continued to be employed in the public sphere.



Figure 4
Gold medallion of Constantine the Great minted in Herakleia in 326–30. Inscription on the obverse: "Emperor Constantine Maximus Pious Felicitous Augustus"; on the reverse: "Salvation and Hope for the State." Reproduced with the permission of SPINK.

Imperial coins and consular diptychs served as two media for visual expression of the political theory of the empire in the period from the fifth to the seventh century. Although representations of pagan deities disappeared from official coinage and public monuments after the first quarter of the fourth century, personifications of civic concepts ensuring the well-being of the state and the city intensified. Images of Roma, Constantinopolis, Victoria, Virtus, Pax, Libertas, Securitas, and Res Publica appeared on coinage, consular diptychs, and monumental reliefs.³⁹ These civic deities were associated with the emperor and defined his imperial power.

Tyche and Victoria were most closely linked to the emperor. They functioned as patrons and protectors of the state and guarantors of imperial power. A *solidus* (gold coin) of Constantine I the Great (306–37) offers a good example of the two deities and their state functions (fig. 4).⁴⁰ On the obverse side Constantine holds a globe with a winged Victoria on top. She raises a victory wreath to his head. On the reverse, Constantine, seated on a *tropheion* (the captured military insignia of the enemy), receives the gifts for his triumph: the Tyche of Herakleia brings the traditional statuette of the winged Victoria set on a globe, while the full-length winged Victoria herself steps in from Constantine's other side and places a wreath of victory on his head. The image offers a clear message: Tyche and Victoria support the imperial cult and legitimize power through military triumph.

Constantinopolis Anthousa forms part of this visual propaganda. Anthousa appears for the first time on the coins of Constantine I, marking the process through which he transformed the small city of Byzantion into a new capital of the empire, a Nova Roma, and renamed it Constantinopolis (Κωνσταντινούπολις), the city of Constantine.⁴¹ On the reverse of one gold medallion, the Tyche Anthousa, dressed in a chiton and wearing a mural crown, sits on a throne, holds a cornucopia in her hands, and rests one foot on the prow of a ship, a gesture referring to the city's prominent access to the major maritime routes (fig. 5). Framing her are the inscribed titles of the emperor: "Our Lord Constantine Maximus Triumphator" and "Augustus." The pairing of Tyche with these titles signifies that as a civic deity she ensures the legitimacy and victories of the emperor. Constantine's own imposing head is depicted in profile on the obverse; he wears a jeweled diadem and gazes upward, a victorious and powerful presence.

Constantine integrated the figure of the Tyche Anthousa into the imperial cult. On May 11, 330, he instituted a special ceremony for the annual celebration of the birthday of the city. According to this public ritual a gilded wooden statue of Constantine carrying the Tyche Anthousa in his extended right hand was to be paraded in the Hippodrome and brought in front of the imperial stand, the *kathisma*. A number of fourth-century imperial coins echo the



Figure 5
Gold medallion of Constantine the Great marking the inauguration of Constantinople as a new capital of the empire in 330. The words inscribed at the bottom of the reverse identify the mint of Constantinople. Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 6 (above right)
Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Valentinian II (383–88) struck in Constantinople. On the reverse, Constantinople with the attributes of Roma: scepter, helmet, orb. The inscription reads: "Concordia of the emperors." Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore.

Figure 7 (above)
Gold coin (*tremissis*) of Emperor Arkadios I (395–408), dated ca. 388. The standard inscription on the reverse proclaims: "Victory of the emperors." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



iconography of this statue.⁴² The current emperor was to rise from his seat and fall in *proskynesis* in front of the gilded effigy of the founder. This ceremony continued to take place at least until the early seventh century.⁴³ Through the performance of this ritual, the image of Tyche continued to resonate with the political theory of empire. Anthousa was understood both as a personification of the city and state and as a guarantor of their stability and prosperity.

While Constantinople remains on the reverse of coins of the emperors of the East until the late sixth century, her original iconography changes.⁴⁴ The turreted crown, the *cornucopia*, and the staff, symbols of her municipal status and prosperity, give way in the late fourth century to a military representation modeled after the iconography of Roma (fig. 6).⁴⁵ This Constantinople wears a plumed helmet and holds a scepter or an orb with a Victoria on top. The new attributes more forcefully bring the figure of the Tyche Anthousa into the sphere of imperial victory. She becomes an unequivocal guarantor of imperial legitimacy. Later on, through an association with the cross as a sign of victory, the iconography of Constantinople acquires a more explicit Christian character on the coin issues of Theodosios II and Pulcheria in the 430s (fig. 8).⁴⁶ With the cross and a *globus cruciger*, Constantinople presents a new Orthodox version of the inherited Roman political ideology. A similar message was conveyed by a statue group of the cross and Tyche flanked by Constantine and Helena set on top of the Milion.⁴⁷ This grandiose four-columned archway marked the beginning of the main avenue of the city (the Mese) and served as the milestone from which all distances in the empire were measured; hence the name of the structure, Milion: a measure of distance.⁴⁸ The statue group set on top of it manifested the concepts of victory and prosperity of the city and the empire.

Tyche seated on a backless throne with a helmet on her head holding a *globus cruciger* and scepter appears briefly and for the last time on the coin issues of Emperor Justin II (565–78).⁴⁹ Her role as a visual state symbol weak-



Figure 8 (above left)
Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Theodosios II (408–50) minted in Constantinople 420–21. On the reverse the winged Victoria presents a long cross of victory. The inscription on the rim reads: "Vows for the twentieth anniversary with many [vows] for the thirtieth." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 9 (above)
Bronze coin (*follis*) of Empress Eudoxia (400–404) minted in Constantinople 400–401. The inscription on the reverse reads: "Salvation of the state." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

ened in the following decades, as expressed by Emperor Maurice's (582–602) destruction of a monumental statue of Tyche in the imperial palace.⁵⁰ At the same time, her demise was balanced by the gradual emergence of the state figure of Mary, who appropriated the functions of Constantinople. In a text telling the story of the redeposition of Mary's robe in the *soros* of the Blachernai (dated to 624/25), it is stated that the city should be renamed Theotokoupolis ("the city of the Theotokos") because of her numerous churches.⁵¹ A new foundation myth also emerged, which proclaimed that Constantine allegedly dedicated the city to the Theotokos.⁵²

In a similar displacement of a civic deity, the Virgin supplanted Victoria. As a guarantor of imperial victory, Victoria had been another potent visual symbol of the empire. According to the Roman political theory, which Byzantium inherited, the emperors' right to rule was confirmed by his victories in the battlefield.⁵³ Consequently, the image of Victoria played an important role on imperial coinage. Her iconography, however, was increasingly Christianized, as signaled by the association of her image with the cross in the fifth century.⁵⁴ On a late-fourth-century gold coin, she is shown dancing with a victory crown and a *globus cruciger* in her hands (fig. 7);⁵⁵ on fifth-century and later examples, she appears with a huge cross, a shield bearing the Chi-Rho inscription, or a cross-scepter (figs. 9, 10).⁵⁶ The winged Victoria remained on the official coinage until the first decade of the seventh century (fig. 11).⁵⁷ After that, she was replaced by the sign of the cross (fig. 12).⁵⁸

The figure of Mary does not appear on imperial coins until the late ninth century. Yet her image surfaces on imperial seals: Emperor Justin II (565–78) used her image to replace Victoria.⁵⁹ Mary is depicted holding in front of her chest a medallion with the Child inside (fig. 13). Victory is now perceived to issue from the Logos/Christ born of the Virgin. This change in the visual tradition is matched by a panegyric of Justin II in which the Theotokos crowns the emperor with a diadem of victory.⁶⁰

Figure 10

Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Anastasios I (491–518). The theme of victory unifies obverse and reverse sides. On the front, the emperor *en face* brandishes a spear and carries a shield with the traditional image of the victorious horseman defeating evil. A standing winged Victoria on the reverse side presents a scepter with a Chi-Rho finial. The usual inscription, "Victory of the emperors," fortifies the concept of military triumph as the foundation of imperial legitimacy. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 10

Figure 11

Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Phokas (602–10) minted in 603. The coin marks the standard practice of the emperor's assuming the consulship in the first January of his succession. On the obverse, the emperor is dressed in the bejeweled *loros*, a sash deriving from the traditional consular *trabea triumphalis*. He holds a scepter and a *mappa*. His consular attributes are juxtaposed to the imperial crown placed on his head and the inscription on the rim: "Our Lord Phokas Perpetual Emperor." The reverse side reinforces the standard imperial victory concept: Victoria with a scepter and *globus cruciger* surrounded by the text: "Victory of the emperors." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 11

Figure 12

Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Herakleios I (610–41) and his son Herakleios Constantine minted in 613–29. The theme of victory traditionally expressed by the winged Victoria is for the first time entirely replaced by the image of the cross. The inscription remains the same: "Victory of the emperors." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 12

The way the Theotokos appropriates the functions of civic deities follows a pattern already established by the image of the empress in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁶¹ Not surprisingly, Mary took on her identity as she started to be addressed as the *regina poli*.⁶² Similar imperial rhetoric is expressed in a text written by the patriarch Sergios on the occasion of the redeposition of the relic of Mary's robe in the Blachernai after the Avar raid in A.D. 623. It describes the tunic of the Theotokos, "the true empress, the Mother of God," as "the divine and truly royal garment."⁶³ Mary's appropriation of the functions of the empress and Victoria is also apparent in the eighth-century homily on the Akathistos, attributed to Andrew of Crete.⁶⁴ Here the Theotokos is called the empress standing at the right side of the emperor (βασιλῆς ἱσταμένη ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ δεσπότη σου),⁶⁵ the very precious imperial purple (πορφυρὶς βασιλική

πολυτίμητος), the empress-general (βασιλῆς στρατηγός), ruler-general (δέσποινα στρατηγός), the victorious weapon (νικητικὸν ὄπλον), the invincible fellow warrior of the pious (σύμμαχος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἢ ἀνίκητος ὄπλον), the wall withstanding the enemies attacks (τείχος τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναχαιτίζον ὁρμήματα), bringer of victory in war (νικητικὸν ἐν πολέμοις), trophy of the emperors (βασιλεύουσι τρόπαιον), the invincible trophy of victory against the enemies (τὸ κατ' ἐχθρῶν μου νίκης ἀείττητον τρόπαιον), and an invincible shield-protection (ὑπερασπισμὸς ὁ ἀνίκητος). The first few appellations immediately establish the link between the Theotokos and the empress; those following, the link between Mary, Victoria, and Tyche: she is the general, the fellow warrior, the victorious trophy, the bringer of victory, and the shield and wall of protection. Subsuming the functions of the empress, Victoria, and Tyche, the Theotokos emerges as the most potent guarantor of imperial victory.

MARIA REGINA: BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

No surviving mosaics or frescoes from Constantinople feature the Theotokos as empress. This lack of evidence for any large-scale representation of the parallel between the Virgin Mary and the empress/Victoria has compelled scholars to formulate the theory that the presence of an empress in Constantinople precluded development and dissemination of images of Maria Regina in the East. By contrast, such a visual tradition survives from the West, Rome in particular. The prevalent scholarly theory goes on to say that the absence of a ruling empress in Rome in the seventh century enabled formulation of the iconography of the Theotokos as a *regina* there and that this image expressed the papal claim for independence from the political authority of Constantinople.⁶⁶ This theory has been extremely influential; few scholars have attempted to challenge it.⁶⁷ Yet perhaps these scholars have been too eager to infer from the lack of physical evidence an absence of Maria Regina iconography in the East. For while no archaeological evidence survives, the concept of Maria Regina is well developed in the Byzantine capital in the writings of Corippus, Patriarch Sergios, and Andrew of Crete. Moreover, by holding open the possibility that a Maria Regina image existed in Constantinople, we can sidestep the presumption of a separation and isolation of the East and West in the sixth and seventh centuries and begin to explore the more likely fluidity of Mediterranean culture.⁶⁸

The extant Maria Regina representations have never been discussed from the point of view of costume, and it is under such illumination that the possibility for a Constantinopolitan Maria Regina emerges. The mid-sixth-century fresco of an enthroned Maria Regina in Santa Maria Antiqua offers the earliest example. It was placed in the guardroom leading to the imperial palace on the



Figure 13
Lead seal of Emperor Justin II (565–78) (or Justinian I). The bust image of the emperor, on the one side, is paired with that of Mary holding the Child in front of her chest, on the other side. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 14

Fresco in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, mid-sixth century. This imperial Virgin, or Maria Regina, was meant as an image of Constantinopolitan power ruling over Rome. It was originally set at the guardroom to the Byzantine palace on the Palatine. When this political authority was challenged, the function of the building and its decoration changed; the guardroom became a church, and the Maria Regina was covered by a new mural showing the Annunciation.



Palatine (fig. 14).⁶⁹ The fresco was painted at a time when the generals of Emperor Justinian, Belisarios and Narses, were in Rome and charged with restoring Byzantine control of the Palatine and the city.⁷⁰ So, even though the fresco appears in Rome, its patronage could be linked back to Constantinople and the Byzantine court.⁷¹ Mary wears a high gem- and pearl-studded crown with long pearl strings (*prependoulia*). A jeweled silk sash, or *loros*, an exclusively imperial garment, lies on top of her white tunic and purple dalmatica. She sits on a lyre-back throne studded with pearls and precious stones.⁷² Angels bringing a scepter and a wreath recall the winged Victoria presenting the attributes of power. The scepter denotes legitimacy, which is gained through victory.

The presence of the *loros* is significant. This feature sets the sixth-century Santa Maria Antiqua image apart from all the other representations of Maria Regina in Rome; the latter all omit the *loros*. One example of this group is the icon known as Santa Maria della Clemenza in Santa Maria in Trastevere (fig. 15). Its dating is problematic, with theories ranging from the second half of the sixth century to the eighth century.⁷³ The Theotokos sits on a backless throne; with one hand she supports the Child on her lap, while with the other she holds a scepter.⁷⁴ She wears a tunic, a dalmatica, and a *trabea* instead of a

loros. She has on her head a gem-studded crown with long *prependoulia*, and on her neck bejeweled necklaces. However, her costume lacks the *loros*. I will argue that this omission signifies a break from the political power of Constantinople. It is the Maria Regina iconography that becomes the carrier of this new political direction of the papacy. She is the sole authority to whom the pope now falls in *proskynesis* as depicted in this icon. The pope as donor is kneeling to the right in front of Mary's feet. This message is consistent throughout the *lorosless* images commissioned by popes John VII (705–7) and Zacharias (741–52) in Santa Maria Antiqua and in the Marian chapel in St. Peter's (sponsored by John VII).⁷⁵ Mary's costume consists of the white tunic, the dalmatica, and the purple *trabea*.⁷⁶ Since it is unlikely that this costume was accidental or merely decorative, one must wonder what the significance of the *loros* had become by this period and why the papal images of the Maria Regina omit it.

The *loros* bridged two spheres: the consular and the imperial.⁷⁷ As a ceremonial garment, it originated from the *trabea triumphalis*, the special swath of cloth traditionally worn by a consul over his toga.⁷⁸ Many of the late antique consular diptychs present the holder of the office in a *trabea triumphalis* (fig. 16).⁷⁹ The consul's main responsibility was the organization of games, though frequently this burden was shared with the emperor. The latter covered many of the expenses for the games and also took the annual office of consul at different years of his reign. Coins showing the emperor in consular attire mark the years of such imperial consulships (figs. 11 and 17).⁸⁰

The office was originally closely associated with the city. By definition, two consuls were elected every year: one in Constantinople and the other in Rome. It is not surprising that on many of the consular diptychs the newly elected



Figure 15

Encaustic icon known as Santa Maria della Clemenza at Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome, late sixth (?)–eighth centuries. Art Resource, New York.



Figure 18
Mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 867. Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.

tion as a Maria Regina did not survive the Iconoclast period (730–843). The grand public image unveiled in the apse of Hagia Sophia in 867 shows Mary in the typical *maphorion*, without imperial regalia; she has no crown, *loros*, scepter, or *globus cruciger* (fig. 18).⁹³ The concept of the empress is thus no longer manifested in the costume and attributes of the Theotokos. Her imperial status is expressed instead through association: the jeweled throne and two archangels placed in the bema (fig. 19). They hold the imperial attributes of power, the *globus* and scepter, as in Hagia Sophia, or wear the *loros*, as in the Koimesis church in Nikaia (fig. 20).⁹⁴ This shaping of the image of Maria Regina through association is also apparent in the tenth-century mosaic in the tympanum of the south vestibule of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (fig. 21). The two *loros*-clad emperors, Constantine and Justinian, flank the Theotokos in her simple *maphorion*. They present to her the models of the church and the city. The Mother of God thus emerges as a *regina poli et ecclesiae* through association, not through costume.

East and the emerging papal claim for independence.⁹²

Constantinople, as the city of the presiding emperor, became a center of production of a new imperial iconography. It is this Constantinopolitan visual and textual tradition that enabled the formation of the Maria Regina figure. But then it was the fluidity of late antique culture that allowed for the spread of the new image type to other centers such as Rome. Here the political function of the Maria Regina changed: the image came to be associated with the pope and soon manifested the papal break from Byzantine political dominion. Thus, the Maria Regina image, likely a creation of the Eastern capital, was turned by the pope in Rome into a tool for challenging Constantinopolitan imperial authority.

While Mary's role as a *regina poli* of Constantinople continued to grow in the next centuries, her depiction



Figure 19
Mosaic of an archangel in the bema of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 867. Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.

THE THEOTOKOS OF THE PHAROS AND HEREDITARY POWER

Mary's functions as guarantor of victory and protector of the capital remained in Byzantine political thought, and their expression through texts, images, and ceremonies continued to grow. At the same time, her image was increasingly drawn into the emerging hereditary idea of imperial power. This new concept was invested in the construction of an entire architectural complex in the palace in the eighth century by the Isaurian dynasty. Since the end of the Theodosian family rule in 547, the Isaurians were the first to establish a lasting imperial



Figure 20
Mosaic in the bema of the church of the Koimesis (Dormition) of the Virgin in Nikaia, seventh and ninth centuries. Two *loros*-clad angels identified as Power and Dominion each hold a globe and a standard with words from the Trisagion hymn: "Holy, holy, holy." At their feet another inscription announces: "And let all the angels of God worship him" (Ode 2:43 = Deut. 32:43).

(876–1056) were next in establishing a lasting hereditary power. Their efforts, too, concentrated on the Church of Mary at the Pharos and the Porphyry chamber. Perhaps in expressing his desire for a son and heir, Emperor Leo VI (886–912) introduced the image of the Theotokos of the Pharos on his gold coinage.¹⁰⁰ Mary appears as a bust figure with arms raised in intercession (fig. 22).¹⁰¹ This representation was meant to evoke a series of prototypes all linked to the concept of dynastic legitimacy: the palatine chapel of the Pharos church, the Chrysotriklinos, and the Blachernai. All three appear to have displayed a mosaic image of Mary with raised arms in a gesture of intercession.¹⁰² The Virgin in the Pharos is described as "stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf and winning for the emperor safety and exploits against the foes."¹⁰³ The mosaic at the Pharos chapel binds the notion of hereditary power with the old Roman idea of legitimacy secured through military victory. In reproducing the image of Mary of the Pharos on his coins, Leo VI sought a guarantee for a male offspring who would ensure the continuation of his line.

hereditary line (717–802). Their vision of power was expressed in the building of a throne room, or Chrysotriklinos ("golden room"), and a Porphyry chamber, where the empress gave birth to the future heirs to the throne.⁹⁵ Leo III (717–41) built both in an attempt to secure the legitimacy of his new dynasty.⁹⁶ His son, Constantine V (741–75), was the first emperor recognized as a *porphyrogennetos*, or "one born in the purple."⁹⁷ Constantine V furthered his father's imperial policy by building the church of the Theotokos of the Pharos next to the Porphyry chamber and the Chrysotriklinos (fig. 1).⁹⁸ In a sense, the Pharos church replaced the earlier *protoktistos* of the Virgin Mary at the old Constantinian palace and promoted the new concept of hereditary rule. Michael III (842–67) renovated the Pharos chapel in 864–66 and decorated it with figural mosaics.⁹⁹

Following the example of the Isaurians, the Macedonian dynasty

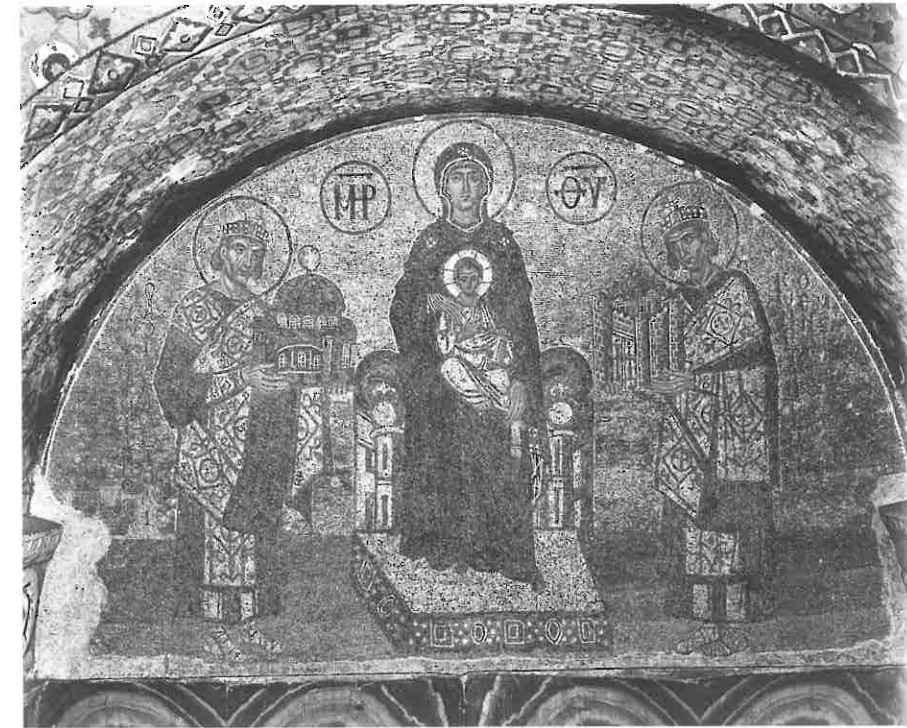


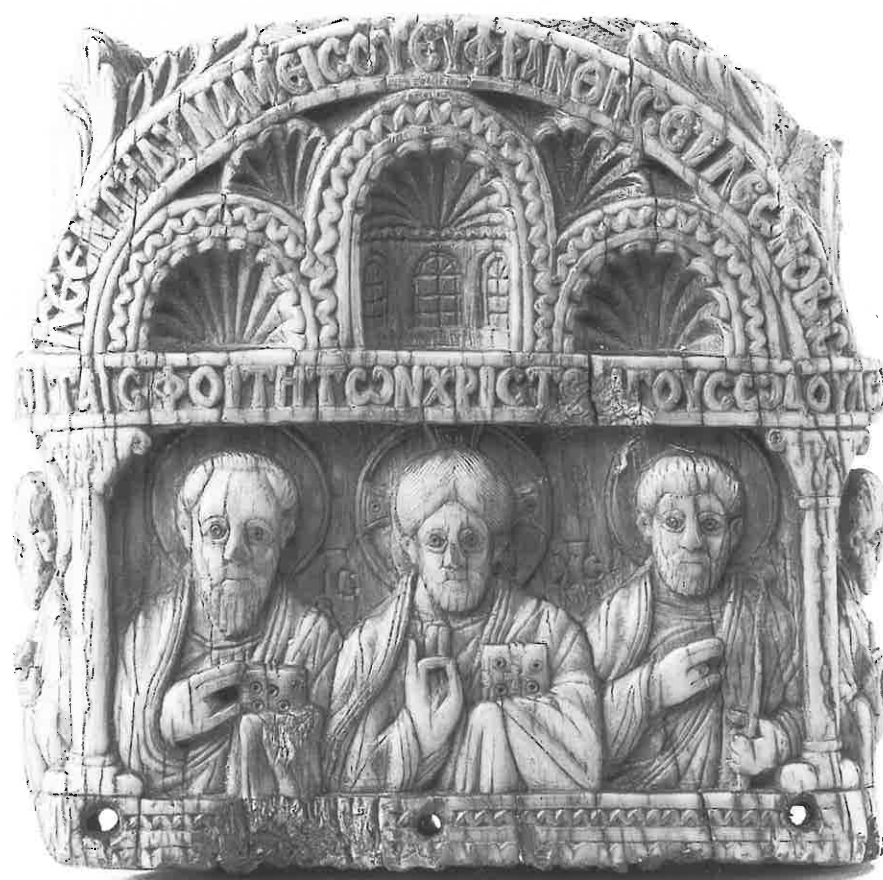
Figure 21
Mosaic of the Virgin and Child, tympanum over the south vestibule of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, tenth century. The image of the Virgin and Child is a faithful copy of the apse mosaic of 867. The two emperors are identified in the inscriptions as "Constantine, the great among the emperors," on the left, and Justinian, "the famous emperor," on the right. Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.

Just like the Pharos mosaic, an ivory with an image of Mary also draws attention to the power of her hands to elect the legitimate ruler (figs. 23, 24). This ivory finial was commissioned for the same emperor, Leo VI, whose name appears twice on the inscriptions. These two epigrams quote Pss. 20:2 (21:1) and 44:5. As Arwed Arnulf has argued, both verses appear in an imperial context in the contemporary ninth-century homilies of Photios and in the marginal psalters. What is special about this ivory is that it places Mary at the center of action; she is the figure crowning the emperor. By raising her hand to place a pearl in the diadem of Leo VI, the Mother of God replaces Christ as the subject of Ps. 20:4 (21:3): "You placed on his head a crown of precious stone."¹⁰⁴ The ivory offers the earliest extant visual expression of this perception of Mary. In written contexts, however, the Theotokos was often addressed as the figure crowning the ruler. For instance, the acclamations (ca. 957–59) spoken in the palace on the feast of the Ascension refer to Mary thus: "O spring of life of the Romans [Byzantines], Virgin, Mother of the divine Logos, you alone march in battle as a fellow fighter on the side of the emperors [born] in the Porphyry [chamber]. They receive the crown from you, for they receive you in the Porphyry [chamber] as an invincible shield against everything. [. . .] For they receive you as might that brings victory against the enemies."¹⁰⁵ The acclamations clearly assert that the legitimate ruler, born in the Porphyry chamber, receives the crown and military victories from the Virgin.



Figure 22
Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Leo VI (886–912) with the Virgin on the obverse. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 23
Ivory finial, 886–912, side A, Christ flanked by the apostles Peter and Paul. Saints Kosmas and Damian appear on the object's short sides. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Spätantike und byzantinische Kunst.



Not surprisingly, the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) tried to reinforce this tie between hereditary power and Mary's role in the elevation of the new ruler. The Pharos chapel was the focus of this cult. It became the repository of relics assembled from the ninth to the twelfth century. The treasury included, among others, the arm of John the Baptist (which was symbolically related to the coronation rituals), the rod of Moses, Passion relics, and the so-called Mandylion: the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ from Edessa, not made by human hands (*a-*, "without"; *-cheir-*, "hand"; *-poietos*, "made").¹⁰⁶ The power of these relics was channeled to guarantee the legitimacy of imperial power.¹⁰⁷

Byzantine and Latin texts from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries refer to an icon of the Mother of God called the Lady of the House, or *Oikokyra*, kept at the Pharos.¹⁰⁸ The *Oikokyra* stood behind the altar, and its power was believed to have ensured the birth of heirs to the throne.¹⁰⁹ According to the single surviving source describing the rituals involving the *Oikokyra*, the icon was locked during the Lenten period in a special container that was in turn covered with silk cloths.¹¹⁰ During that period, the panel was beseeched for help with the

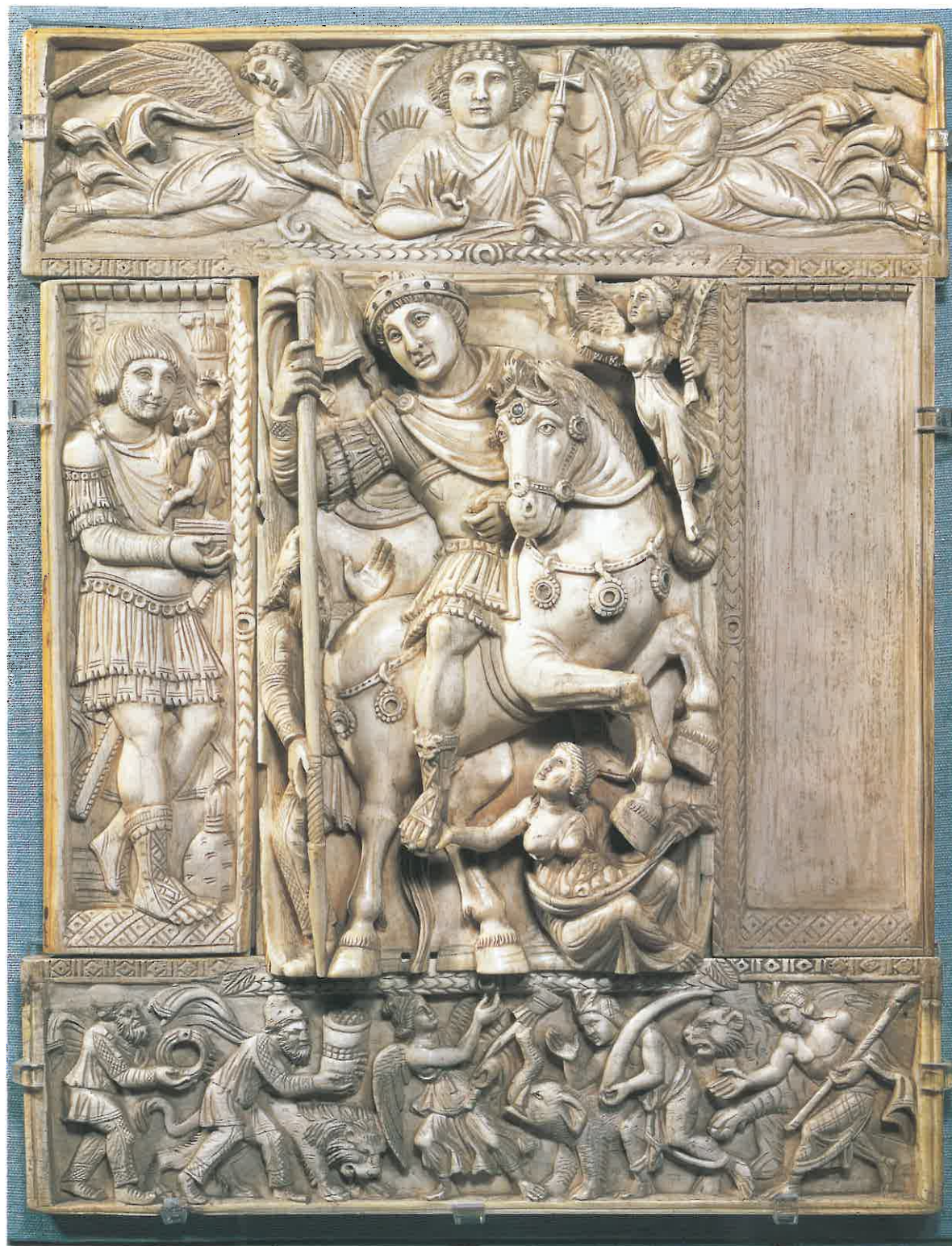


Figure 24
Ivory finial, 886–912, side B, the Mother of God with Emperor Leo VI and the archangel Gabriel. The first inscription starts in the rim of the main arch of side A and continues in the arch of side B: "Lord, in your power rejoices the emperor Leo / and in your salvation how greatly he exults," Ps. 20:2 (21:1). A second inscription begins in the cornice of side A and continues on side B: "O Christ, with the prayers of your disciples, lead your servant! / Strive, prosper, reign, O ruler Leo!" Ps. 44:5. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Spätantike und byzantinische Kunst.

birth of an heir to the throne. Subsequently the child born by the empress accepted the icon of the *Oikokyra* as a second mother. In a special rite during the baptism of the child, the *Oikokyra* "received" the infant on a silk cloth, spread between the icon and the empress mother.¹¹¹ The panel thus became the visual expression of Mary's role as protector of the hereditary dynasty.

MILITARY VICTORY VERSUS PORPHYROGENNETOS BIRTH

Although the Macedonian dynasty strove to strengthen the hereditary concept of imperial rule, their power was challenged on a number of occasions by usurpers who propelled the older Roman understanding of election through military triumphs.¹¹² A sixth-century ivory currently at the Louvre presents one of the most eloquent visual expressions of this older political theory (fig. 25). The emperor Justinian on horseback sits victorious. His power, validated through his triumphs, ultimately issues from Christ, set at the center of a disk of light supported on both sides by flying angels. Three smaller Victoria figures



bring wreaths: one emerges from the curve of the horse's mane; the second rises from the lower horizontal frieze and touches the gemstone of the wreath-like lower frame; the third is the statuette brought by the general to his triumphant emperor. The message of this image is clear: imperial legitimacy is divinely confirmed and secured by victories in war.

As discussed earlier, the Virgin Mary eventually replaced Victoria in her function as guarantor of victory, but the new concept did not find visual expression on imperial coinage until the mid-tenth century. During that century imperial power came to be curiously divided: a *porphyrogennetos* hereditary ruler from the Macedonian house shared the throne with a military general, who had risen to power as a regent. For instance, Constantine VII, the son of Leo VI, became emperor at the age of six, but soon the regent Romanos I Lekapenos usurped his position. The coins minted in 914–19 show Christ enthroned on the obverse, and on the reverse: Romanos, the admiral of the Byzantine fleet, as a co-emperor, holding the scepter together with the legitimate heir Constantine (fig. 26). By 921, Romanos had completely usurped the throne. Now he stood on the obverse as the undisputed ruler, whose power was blessed by the hand of Christ (fig. 27). By contrast, the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine VII was not only relegated to the back side but was even further debased by being shown in the lesser position (on the viewer's right) and sharing the imperial scepter with the son of Romanos, Christopher. The targeted audience for these images was the military, the aristocracy, and state officials, who all had access to the gold coinage. The military was paid in gold, and the administrative elite had the means to possess and use gold.¹¹³ The iconography of the new coins was thus meant to muster the support of the army, while the aristocracy and administrative elite were asked to accept Romanos and his son Christopher as the new imperial dynasty over the legitimate *porphyrogennetos* Constantine VII.

This tension between hereditary power and military authority came to a head in the second half of the tenth century. Once again the offspring of the Macedonian house, the *porphyrogenitoi* heirs to the throne Basil II and Constantine VIII, were eclipsed by a successful general, Nikephoros II Phokas. He was elected emperor by the army on August 14, 963, and crowned in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople two days later.¹¹⁴ Known for his victories over the Saracens and the reconquest of Crete in 961, he consciously chose to celebrate his inauguration as a military triumph on August 16, 963, the day traditionally commemorating Mary's victory over the Arabs in 718.¹¹⁵ He was met at the Golden Gate and greeted by the people, clergy, and the senate as a victorious general:

Welcome Nikephore, autocrator of the Romans! Welcome, Nikephore, great ruler of the Romans! Welcome Nikephore, who



Figure 25 (opposite)
Ivory plaque of Emperor Justinian (527–65), mid-sixth century.
Réunion des musées nationaux/
Art Resource, New York.

Figure 26 (above)
Gold coin (*solidus*) of the legitimate *porphyrogennetos* Emperor Constantine VII and the admiral of the fleet Romanos I Lekapenos minted in 914–19. Constantine's power is visually curtailed by the smaller size of his crown, his shorter stature, and the lower position of his hand on the stem of the scepter. The inscriptions read: "Jesus Christ rex regnantium [the ruler of the ruling]" and, on the other side, "Constantine and Romanos, augusti, basileis [emperors]." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 27

Gold coin (*solidus*) of the former admiral of the fleet Romanos I Lekapenos as co-emperor and the legitimate *porphyrogennetos* Emperor Constantine VII minted in 921. Dressed in imperial regalia with a *loros* and holding a *globus cruciger*, Romanos is the sole mortal figure sharing the space with Christ and receiving his blessing. The inscription seals this claim: "Lord, protect Romanos the despot." The marginalized *porphyrogennetos* Constantine VII is placed on the reverse side and in the lesser position. In the inscription: "Christophoros and Constantine, augusti, basileis [emperors]." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

has routed the enemies' regiments! Welcome, Nikephore, who has sacked the cities of the enemies! Most courageous victor, ever august! Welcome, through whom the infidel races are subjugated! Through you the vanquished Ismael has been struck with terror! Through you the scepters of the Romans are strengthened! *Strive, prosper, and reign!*¹¹⁶ God has shown mercy to his people by having accepted you, Nikephore, as emperor of the Romans. Rejoice now O city of the Romans! Receive the divinely crowned Nikephoros. For he arrived truly illuminating the whole world!¹¹⁷

The acclamations were intended to establish his victories in war as the source of his legitimacy and divine approval. His name Nikephoros, "Bringer of Victory," leant itself to the old Roman model of imperial rule secured through military triumphs. After the greeting at the Golden Gate, the traditional place where the people met the victorious general, Nikephoros proceeded to the Forum of Constantine, where he prayed in the church of the Theotokos of the Forum. Mary was invoked as the guarantor of the imperial victory.

The Mother of God was put to the same purpose on his official coinage. There Nikephoros originally appears as regent: Christ is placed on the obverse, while the reverse shows the legitimate heir Basil II and the regent Nikephoros Phokas (fig. 28). As partners in rule, both hold the imperial scepter.¹¹⁸ Soon enough, however, Nikephoros initiates a new iconography; he discontinues the representations of the young *porphyrogennetos* Basil II on his gold issues and introduces Mary instead (fig. 29). The Theotokos and the general both hold the scepter.¹¹⁹ The inscription reads: "Theotoke, protect Nikephoros, the despot." The iconography draws attention to the role of Mary as Victoria, strengthening the imperial scepter and legitimizing his rule. Having decided to claim the legitimacy of his rule on the basis of his success in the battlefield, Nikephoros promoted the first visual expression of the Theotokos as Victoria.

But Phokas's power did not last long; another successful general, John Tzimiskes, murdered him on the night of December 10, 969. Tzimiskes now assumed the position of regent and also laid his claim to the throne on the basis



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30

Figure 28

Gold coin (*solidus*) of the *porphyrogennetos* Basil II and the regent and former general of the Byzantine army Nikephoros I Phokas minted in 963. Obverse, Christ *en buste* blesses: "Jesus Christ, ruler of the ruling." Reverse, "Nikephoros and Basil, augusti basileis [emperors] of the Romans." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 29

Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69). Obverse, Christ holds a gospel book and blesses; inscription: "Jesus Christ Ruler of the Ruling." Reverse, the Virgin and Nikephoros Phokas, Mary addressed with the words "Theotoke help the despot Nikephoros." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 30

Gold coin (*solidus*) of Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–76). Tzimiskes enhances his imperial claim by presenting himself on the preferred side (viewer's left), by depicting Mary with her hand on his crown, and by receiving divine blessing from the hand of God. The words along the rim state: "Theotoke help John the despot." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

of his military victories, exploiting the concept of legitimacy through success in war.¹²⁰ Like Nikephoros, he staged a public triumphal procession celebrating his victory over the Bulgarians and Russians in 971 and used this ceremony to secure the legitimacy of his grip on power.¹²¹ He associated himself with the figure of the Virgin/Victoria by prominently placing her icon on the chariot drawn in the procession.¹²² The Theotokos also appears on his official coinage, placing the crown on Tzimiskes' head. Her gesture vouches for the legitimacy of Tzimiskes' right to the throne achieved through his victories in war (fig. 30).¹²³

Both Nikephoros and Tzimiskes could not claim their legitimacy through birth and association with the Porphyry chamber, so they chose the traditional Roman concept of Victoria and promoted for the first time a visual representation of this concept long-established in texts. The rise of this new iconography came as a result of the clash between the old Roman model of rule based on victory and the more recent hereditary model promoted first by the Isaurian and then the Macedonian dynasties. In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries many of the different state functions of the Theotokos acquired their own visual expression and in some cases came to be associated with particular icons, like the *Oikoklyra*. What emerged was an icon-centered state cult of the Theotokos.



The Avar Siege *Memory and Change*

2

As revealed in the previous chapter, the military usurpers of the throne in the tenth century perpetrated the tradition of using Marian images to claim legitimacy. They not only placed her figure on their coins, displaying the Theotokos in gestures overtly supporting their rule (grasping the scepter or placing her hand on the imperial crown), but also ushered a new practice of triumphal processions with icons of the Theomator. This chapter will explore the rise of these *litaniai* with Marian panels by focusing on the Avar siege of Constantinople of 626 and its place in Byzantine memory. It is this event that shaped the belief in Mary as the protectress of the city.

In 626 the Avars, Persians, and Slavs besieged Constantinople on both the European and Asiatic sides. The situation grew desperate because the emperor Herakleios (610–41) was away from the capital on a military campaign in the East and the enemies outnumbered the Byzantine garrison and fleet. In this critical moment the defense of Constantinople was entrusted to the *patrikios* Bonos and the patriarch Sergios. The blockade lasted seven days, but on August 7, the enemies abruptly lifted the siege and departed. The people of Constantinople rejoiced and celebrated their deliverance from the disaster, attributing the auspicious outcome to the direct intervention of the Theotokos.¹ The memory of the siege formed the basis of the public cult of the Theotokos in Constantinople. As the ritual practices changed over time and focused on processions with icons, the memory of the Avar siege also transformed, and the delivery was attributed to the power of Marian icons, more specifically the Hodegetria.

In her influential studies on the Virgin in early Constantinople, Averil Cameron has argued that Marian icons played an important role during the Avar siege in 626.² Even earlier, Andre Frolov and Ernst Kitzinger maintained that panels of the Theotokos were carried in procession during the siege.³ Frolov did not offer any evidence in support of his position, whereas Kitzinger admitted that the seventh-century Byzantine sources spoke only of an *acheiropoietos* of Christ, yet, based on Middle Byzantine texts mentioning Marian panels, Kitzinger concluded that icons were used in a public *litania* during the Avar siege. Jan van Dieten and Paul Speck have argued against this theory by pointing out the absence of Marian icons and processions from the seventh-century sources.⁴ Yet, based on his interpretation of a papal letter discussing a later siege of Constantinople by the Arabs in A.D. 717–18, Speck concluded that on this particular occasion the help of the Theotokos as protector of Constantinople was manifested through her icons.⁵ My own contention, based on a close reading of the pre- and post-Iconoclast sources, is that Marian icons were not carried in processions during the early sieges, that *litaniai* with panels were a very late phenomenon, appearing only in the second half of the tenth century, and that the cult of the Theotokos, initially identified with her relics, gradually evolved into a cult centered on icons in the period after Iconoclasm; only then did a close linkage of Marian icons with protection of the capital occur.⁶

THE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

Three extant seventh-century accounts relate the events of the Avar siege: a poem by George of Pisidia, a sermon attributed to Theodore Synkellos, and an excerpt in the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁷ In these texts the Theotokos is described as walking on the city walls and engaging in hand-to-hand battle with the enemies. These actions resemble those of the pagan goddesses of war.⁸ Although a few of her icons were set on the gates of the city, Mary's help was mostly perceived to have been realized through her physical presence. At the same time, both George of Pisidia and Theodore Synkellos mention that an *acheiropoietos* of Christ was brought to the city walls just before the crucial battle.

In George of Pisidia's account the object, τὸ φρικτὸν εἶδος τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου, is placed at the center of an imaginary court trial where it functions as the judge, who grants victory to the Byzantines. The event is presented as follows:

ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς μάχης ἡ κυρία
πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν συνήλθε τὴν θεόγραφον,
πάλιν σὺ κάμνεις· οὐ γὰρ ἀσκοπῶς φθάσας

τῆς κοινότητος ἐντολεὺς κατεστάθης·
λαβὼν δὲ θάπτον τὸν συνήγορον λόγον·
καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐκδραμὼν τὸ τῆς δίκης
γραφὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προεξέθου
τὸ φρικτὸν εἶδος τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου.
ταύτην τις, οἶμαι, τὴν διάγνωσιν βλέπων
φήσει δόλω σε τὸν κριτὴν ὑφαρπάσαι·
δείξας γὰρ αὐτὸ[ν] τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὅλοις
ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐξανέστησας φόβον
καὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων μηδέπω παρηγμένων
κόμφευσος αὐτοῖς ἡ δίκη καθίστατο.
ὥς εὖ γὰρ σοι γένοιτο τοῦ καλοῦ δόλου·
κρίνας γὰρ ἐν σοὶ καὶ διαγνοὺς τὴν φύσιν
ὥς μητρὸς οὐδὲν παιδί συμπαθέστερον
τὴν τοῦ Δικαστοῦ Μητέρα προσηγάγου
οἴκτῳ, δεήσει, δακρύοις, ἀσιτία,
καὶ τῇ δόσει δὲ τῶν ρεόντων χρημάτων·
ἐκέλευεν ἔνθεν πολλὰ δοῦς καὶ σκορπίσας
πείθεις ἐκείνην πρῶτον· ἡ δὲ συντόμως
πείθει τὸ Τέκνον καὶ σχεδὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης
νικῶσαν ἡμῖν ἐξεφώνησε κρίσιν.

From George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*,
in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 193–94, vv. 366–89

After that the *curia* for the battle
convened for the judgment ordained by God.⁹
You [Sergios (?)] toiled again,
for not without a purpose you were
previously appointed a representative of the community
and hurried quickly, taking the Logos, our advocate,
and running toward the wall of justice;
you firmly displayed the indictment/painting (γραφὴ)
against them [the enemies],
the awesome form of the indictment/painting
that cannot be written/painted.
I believe, when someone sees this reading of the statements,
he will say that you have outsmarted the judge with a trick,
for by showing Him [the image of God]¹⁰
against all the enemies,¹¹ you raised their fear.
Even though no refutations had yet been brought to the court,
the court recognized them [the Slavs, Avars, and Persian] as guilty.

May you prosper from your beautiful trick,
 for having judged inside you and discerned that
 no one in nature is more compassionate to the child than a mother;
 you brought over to your side the mother of the judge
 with pity and prayers and tears
 and abstinence and abundant donations¹² of money.
 Having given and spent much,
 you convinced her first, and immediately she
 convinced the child, and almost before the judgment
 he pronounced a verdict of impending victory
 before the case was over.

Several Latin legal terms contribute in creating a court setting within which the image of Christ functions.¹³ One of them is *κόμενυσος*, which denotes admission of guilt before the accusations are made. Another juridical term is *κυρία*, which philologists have previously translated as “the principal day of the battle”; but as such the subject cannot easily be connected with the verb “convened.”¹⁴ If translated as the Latin *curia*, meaning “senate” or “court-house,” the sentence reads smoothly.¹⁵ Moreover, the sentence then evokes the formula in which the standard protocols of the senate are written: *cum* [. . .] *in curiam* [. . .] *convenissent*.¹⁶

By raising the image of Christ,¹⁷ Sergios resorts to the ancient Roman right of asylum given to the Roman subjects by the portraits of the emperor.¹⁸ His enemies, the Avars, Slavs, and Persians, are considered guilty even before the documents of the trial are read. Sergios then wins a second time, by appealing to the Virgin and securing her intercession in front of Christ. Mary then goes to convince Christ, who bestows victory on Constantinople.

That Sergios's procession of an icon of Christ on the ramparts is represented in the guise of a Roman court trial, veiled in the language of Roman law, shows, I believe, an impetus to validate an unusual practice and to legitimize it. After the siege, in the writings of both George of Pisidia and Theodore Synkellos, Sergios's gesture is given a symbolic interpretation. In George's poem, the patriarch's move is interpreted as a legal act. Throughout the whole passage the author never speaks clearly of icons; he plays on the ambiguity of the word *γραφή*, meaning both “indictment” and “painting.” The image is the accusation against the barbarians. With this image/accusation in hand, the patriarch Sergios heads to the “wall of the court” understood as the ramparts of the city.

Two miniatures of Christ's trial before Pontius Pilate in the Rossano gospels offer a sixth-century example of Byzantine court proceedings (Rossano Cod. Gr., fols. 8r and 8v) (figs. 31, 32).¹⁹ Pilate is sitting on a high-back throne;

behind him two *signiferi* (“standard-bearers”) carry the standards, or *signa*, with the imperial portraits. The emperor, as the ultimate authority, is thus present in the courtroom in the guise of his images.²⁰ Similarly, in the poem by George of Pisidia, the ultimate judge—Christ—is present though his *γραφή*, or image: τὸ φορικτὸν εἶδος τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου.²¹

At the same time, *γραφή*, in the sense of indictment, is also associated with the acts of accusation and of writing the sentence. A Roman court trial ultimately produced a written decision, sanctioned by the emperor.²² To give a sentence was to put down words in writing. Sergios's elevation of the image of Christ is thus symbolically interpreted as bringing out this written decision.

The other author contemporary with the Avar siege, Theodore Synkellos, also records the use of an *acheiropoietos* of Christ in the crucial moment of the battle.²³ Although images of the Theotokos were placed on the walls to ward off the enemy attacks, much as statues of the gods had previously been used in accordance with the ancient tradition,²⁴ the object carried by the patriarch Sergios to the walls was the *acheiropoietos* of Christ, not a Marian icon:

And our Moses [the patriarch Sergios], having raised in his pure hands the image [*typos*] of the only begotten God, at which the demons tremble (which, they say, is not made by human hands)—for he [Sergios] did not need someone to support him, *having crucified himself to the world*,²⁵ according to the gospel of Christ the Lord—showing it [the *typos* of Christ] with tears just like an invincible weapon to the aerial powers of darkness and the troops of the West [the Avars], he [Sergios] walked along the entire wall of the city. [He cried] in a suppressed voice, just as the first Moses cried toward God when he made the Tabernacle to proceed before the people: “*Get up, oh Lord, let your enemies be scattered abroad, and all the ones who hate you to run away!*”²⁶ And he also added the words of King David: “*Let them disperse, like the smoke is dispersed and like the candle in front of the fire melts away. In the same way let the foreign people be destroyed in front of the face of God,*”²⁷ who trampled on Hades in condescension for our sake!”²⁸

Theodore's account is characterized by its repeated references to Old Testament figures and events. Sergios is represented as the new Moses, who protects his people against the Pharaoh's pursuit (the Avars), leads the Israelites (the citizens of Constantinople) across the new Red Sea (the siege), and prays to God for their salvation. Sergios lifts the icon of Christ much as Moses raised his arms at the battle of Israel with Amalek. Whenever the arms of Moses were lifted, Israel prevailed. By setting up the parallel with Moses, Theodore Synkel-



Figure 31
Christ brought before Pontius
Pilate, Rossano cathedral
treasury, Rossano Cod. Gr.,
fol. 8r, sixth century. Art
Resource, New York.

los promotes the belief that the patriarch Sergios ensured the Byzantine victory by raising the image of Christ.

The third contemporary source, the *Chronicon Paschale*, does not mention the *acheiropoiotos* of Christ or Marian icons.²⁹ The text only says that in the crucial moment of the siege the godless Chagan saw a figure of a woman, dressed in a dignified manner, running along the ramparts of the city walls.³⁰ This figure could be identified with the Theotokos; the account presents a vision, not a description of an icon procession.

Thus, all three seventh-century texts are silent about an icon of Mary. Although images of the Theotokos and Child were placed on the gates of the western walls, as mentioned by Theodore Synkellos,³¹ only the *acheiropoiotos* of Christ was carried on the walls by the patriarch. In all three accounts, the Virgin is perceived to have assisted only by appearing in person and fighting for the Byzantines.³²

The *acheiropoiotos* of Christ, brought out by Sergios, seems to have filled the void of power left by the absence of the emperor.³³ By carrying this image, the patriarch brought by proxy a divine head of state. A special image of Christ known as the *acheropita* was put to similar use in Rome in the eighth century.³⁴ Because the Byzantine emperor had stopped visiting in the western capital by A.D. 710, a supernatural substitute for the head of power was introduced in the form of the Lateran *acheropita*. The first procession of this image of Christ is attested in A.D. 754. The *litania*, led by Pope Stephen II (752–57), headed to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.³⁵ The penitential procession was intended to implore for God's help against Aistulf, the king of the Lombards, who was threatening Rome at the time.³⁶ Like Sergios, Pope Stephen II carried the *acheropita* in his hands and prayed for divine intervention at the time when the secular head of state was absent from the city. Thus a cult of an *acheiropoiotos* of Christ, acting as a protector of the city at a time of danger, emerged in both Rome and Constantinople in the period before Iconoclasm.

THE ACHEIROPOIETOI OF CHRIST: RELICS OR ICONS IN THE PRE-ICONOCLAST PERIOD?

The early liturgical processions, or *litaniai*, in Constantinople were established in the last quarter of the fourth century.³⁷ They were connected with the development of the stationary liturgy celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays and special feast days.³⁸ It was customary to carry on these occasions oil lamps, candles, and crosses.³⁹ Similarly, in special cases, such as the translation of the remains of a saint, the relics were included in the train of the procession.⁴⁰ From this evidence it is plausible to conclude that relics were integrated into liturgical processions already in the late fourth century. The importance of relics and their integration into the liturgical ceremonies is also attested in the canons of the

council of 787 reestablishing icon worship. A special decree was implemented ordering churches consecrated without the installation of relics to supply them.⁴¹ Other objects, especially ones with a close affinity to relics such as the *acheiropoiētoi*, were slowly integrated into the same process.

The term *acheiropoiētos* originally referred to the kingdom of heaven, the sky, the sacraments, and the circumcision, and not to an image of God.⁴² The concept of the *acheiropoiētos* understood as an image appeared only around the middle of the sixth century.⁴³ This special object was perceived as a body imprint that Christ or Mary had in life left on a material surface. The resulting image was doubly miraculous: both in the way it was produced and in the close connection it preserved with the original divine presence.⁴⁴ The *acheiropoiētos* was both a relic and an icon: as a relic, it was an extension and vestige of the divine body; as an icon, it offered an imprint of the divine face.⁴⁵ Due to their affinity to relics, *acheiropoiētoi* were soon integrated into the urban ceremonies.

Among these special objects were the Mandylion of Edessa, the Kamouliana, the Keramion, and the Memphis images of Christ.⁴⁶ They were allegedly brought out in sieges, battles, and civic processions.⁴⁷ In Evagrius's account of the siege of Edessa in A.D. 544, the bishop is described as having sprinkled water on the image of Christ, which caused a fire to consume the enemy's besieging tower.⁴⁸ Similarly, the *acheiropoiētoi* are said to have been carried in battle in A.D. 586 by Philippikos, the brother-in-law of the emperor Maurice (582–602) and general of the East, and by the emperor Herakleios (610–41).⁴⁹ Finally, a reference to a procession with an *acheiropoiētos* of Christ in A.D. 555–61 is recorded in the chronicle of the Continuatus of Zacharias of Mitylene, compiled before A.D. 569.⁵⁰ This *litania*, sent through the cities of the empire, lasted six years and was intended to raise funds for the restoration of the village of Dibudin and its church. From these sources, it is evident that around the middle of the sixth century *acheiropoiētoi* began to be used on special public occasions in much the same manner as were relics.

PROCESSIONS WITH MARIAN ICONS IN CONSTANTINOPLE BEFORE ICONOCLASM?

While *acheiropoiētoi*, due to their affinity to relics, appear to have been integrated into the public life of cities and brought out at a time of a political crisis, icons seem not to have been similarly used.⁵¹ George of Pisidia presents the only reliable evidence that a Marian panel was used in a military campaign. According to his account the future emperor Herakleios (610–41) advanced an image (τὸ φρικτὸν εἶδος, and εἰκὼν) of the Theotokos against the emperor Phokas (602–10):

[Phokas,] this sea-monster of the earth, this face of the Gorgon, considered shedding our blood [to preserve] his thrice-unhappy



Figure 32
Pontius Pilate sends Christ to King Herod, Rossano cathedral treasury, Rossano Cod. Gr., fol. 8v, sixth century. Writing utensils, a scroll, and tablets illustrate that the accusation and the judgment are conveyed through writing and reading aloud. Art Resource, New York.

power. You [Herakleios] did not destroy him as Perseus did, with deceit, but you placed against the corrupter of virgins the awesome image of the pure Virgin. For you had her icon as a helper when you were approaching in the praying range of the beast. You killed him, having saved not only one fettered virgin [referring to the myth of Andromeda] but entire cities.⁵²

The reference to a Marian icon is here understood through allusions to the head of the Gorgon and the Andromeda myth. The power of the pure Virgin is extolled for having prevailed over the petrifying image of the Gorgon (Phokas) and for having set free the cities of the empire, presented here in the guise of numerous chaste Andromedas tied to the rock of tyranny (the rule of Phokas).

It is not clear whether the εἰκών of Mary is just a fiction, necessary to build the metaphor of Phokas as the Gorgon, and the Byzantines as suffering Andromedas. Interestingly, some Middle Byzantine sources recording the same event substitute an *acheiropoiotos* of Christ for the image of the Theotokos.⁵³ Still others describe a Marian icon attached to the mast of Herakleios's ship.⁵⁴ While it is impossible to determine whether the εἰκών is a fiction or a real painted panel, the action described by George of Pisidia cannot be construed as a public procession with a Marian panel.

Similarly, other pre-Iconoclast sources do not attest the use of icons in public *litaniai*. Even the letter of Pope Gregory II to the patriarch Germanos, presumably written in A.D. 729, most likely does not record an icon procession.⁵⁵ The passage reads as follows:

Τόξον δυνατῶν ἡσθένησε, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενοῦντες περιεζώσαντο δύναμιν. Διότι οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τῆς τῶν θεομάχων βδελυρίας καθέστηκε, καὶ συνεκπολεμῶν τῷ Θεῷ τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ τοὺς παράφρονas εἴρηται. Πῶς οὐκ ἂν μετὰ Θεοῦ πολεμοῦμενος ὁ ἡγιασμένος σὺ κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων ἢ κίνησις εὐρηκότων τὸν ἀφανῶς πολεμοῦμενον, καὶ συμπολεμοῦντα δὲ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τροποῦμενον, ἥνικα οὕτως ἀπήρξω τῆς παρατάξεως, ὥς ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸς σοι παρέδειξεν; ἡγείσθαι προστάξας ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ ἔνδοξον ὄντως καὶ ἐπίσημον λάβαρον, τὸν ζωοποιὸν λέγω σταυρὸν, τὸ μέγα κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλειότητος τρόπαιον· ἐν ᾧ τοῦ κόσμου τετραμερῶς τὰ πέρατα διεγράψατο, ἐγκαταστήσας προγράμμασιν. Εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς πάντων Δεσποίνης καὶ ὄντως ἀγνῆς Θεομήτορος, ἧς τὸ πρόσωπον οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ λιτανεύσουσι. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XIII, p. 93 C2.

*The bow of the mighty has waxed feeble, and the weak have girded themselves with strength.*⁵⁶ For the might of God's abominable enemies cannot withstand [even] the weak followers of God, and, as it has been said, *the world fights together [with God] against the unwise.*⁵⁷ For how could you not win⁵⁸ against the godless impious ones, you, the hallowed one, who have discovered the one who fights invisibly [God]? And to speak even more truthfully, [you who have discovered] the one who fights together [with the humans] and is victorious over the enemies. For in this way you led the front line of the battle as God himself showed you, by ordering the truly glorious and esteemed *labarum* to lead Christ's soldiers: [the *labarum*, which is] the life-bringing cross, the great trophy of His Majesty against death, in which he marked the four ends of the world, covering it [the cross] with examples [of his victories, i.e., images of his mira-

cles and Passion]. Next [you also ordered to be brought in the forefront] the holy image of the Mistress of all and truly pure Theometor, *whose face the rich of the people will beseech.*⁵⁹

Paul Speck has argued that in this letter Pope Gregory II refers to the Arab siege of Constantinople in A.D. 717–18 and extols the valiant conduct of Patriarch Germanos. The interpretation rests on the relationship between the letter and the Akathistos hymn.⁶⁰ Sometime in the seventh or eighth century a new introduction was added to the Akathistos extolling the role of the Virgin Mary in rescuing her city. This second *prooimion* is associated with the Avar siege of 626 in the historical introduction to the hymn in the *Triodion*.⁶¹ By contrast, Speck has attributed it to the hand of Patriarch Germanos and the Arab siege of 717–18, based on the evidence of the Latin version of the hymn.⁶² For when the Akathistos was transmitted to the West, before the early ninth century,⁶³ it was introduced by a short summary, or *synaxarion*, relating the events of the Arab siege of Constantinople. According to Speck, the patriarch Germanos sent a copy of the Akathistos to Pope Gregory II, who then responded with the aforementioned letter.⁶⁴

Based on this interpretation of the events, Speck has read the passage of the letter quoted above as recording a procession with the cross and a Marian icon during the Arab siege.⁶⁵ Yet this reading is questionable. The reference to the *labarum* and cross is a historical allusion to Constantine and his victory over Maxentius: an occasion from the past when God helped his chosen people. The sentence that follows—"Next the holy image of the Mistress of all and truly pure Theometor, whose face the rich of the people will beseech" (εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς πάντων Δεσποίνης καὶ ὄντως ἀγνῆς Θεομήτορος, ἧς τὸ πρόσωπον οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ λιτανεύσουσιν)—does not directly refer to a procession.⁶⁶ The phrase "whose face the rich of the people will beseech" is a biblical quotation (Ps. 44 [45]:12), and not a reference to a procession.⁶⁷ The word εἰκών could also be understood in the sense of image/personhood rather than a painted panel: a meaning suggested by the biblical quotation following it. The complete psalm verse reads: καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες Τύρου ἐν δώροις, τὸ πρόσωπόν σου λιτανεύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ⁶⁸ ("and the daughters of Tyre will venerate her [the bride] with gifts; the rich people from the crowd will beseech her countenance"). The passage refers to the city of Tyre dressed in a bridal costume, ready to accept her conqueror as her groom. By becoming his bride, she gains the power to intercede on behalf of her people. The quotation in Gregory's letter suggests respect for the person of the Theotokos; like the bride, Mary has become the intercessor to whom the citizens of Constantinople resort in their time of need. The passage does not offer a direct record of a procession with an icon.

Moreover, it is only a few pages later when the letter (Mansi XIII, 97 D2) introduces the present event, the Arab siege.⁶⁹ The sentence starts with ἀλλ' εἰς μέχρη τοῦδε, meaning "but as far as now." Thus, the actions regarding the *labarum*, the cross, and the εἰκὼν of the Theotokos are intended to read as instances from the past, before the Arab siege—if the event should be identified with that particular siege, when God had given his help to his chosen people—not as what took place in A.D. 717–18.

But while an ambiguity still lurks in the text, some facts outside this written record strengthen my hypothesis that no icon procession took place in 717–18. All the following arguments are *ex silentio*, but their sheer number confirms my position. The *synaxarion* of the Latin version of the Akathistos does not mention a procession with a Marian icon during the Arab siege, but states that the Virgin appeared in person during the battle.⁷⁰ The same is the case with the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, a calendar for the fixed feast. The lection for the day of the commemoration of the Arab siege, August 16, does not mention a procession with a Marian icon.⁷¹ If in fact Constantinople was perceived to have been saved by a Marian icon carried in procession during the Arab siege in 717, presumably such an event would immediately have caught the attention of the eighth-century audience, especially in a period preoccupied with the issue of legitimacy of icon veneration.⁷² Similarly, if such a tradition existed, the story would have been included in the mid-ninth-century *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, which presents a list of miraculous icons and their roles in crucial events.⁷³

It is also difficult to imagine a procession with a panel of the Theotokos in Constantinople in the pre-Iconoclast period, because her cult there was established on the basis of relics, not icons.⁷⁴ Moreover, when the legend of Saint Luke as a painter of Marian icons developed in the mid-eighth century, the myth was attached to panels in Rome and Jerusalem, not Constantinople.⁷⁵ The Marian devotion in Rome was focused on icons; each one of the churches newly dedicated to the Theotokos had its own in-house icon.⁷⁶ By contrast, no such practice is attested in Constantinople. This fact alone shows that the Marian cult in Constantinople was not initially based on icons and icon processions. If an icon of the Theotokos had saved the city during the Arab siege, it would have become the center of an intense cult, and the panel would have been identified as a product of the hand of the evangelist Luke. This is exactly what happened later on in the eleventh century with the famous Hodegetria icon.⁷⁷

The precedence of relics over icons, and the slow introduction of painted panels in the public expression of the Marian cult in Constantinople, are also revealed in the account of the Russian siege of A.D. 860. In this period, immediately after Iconoclasm, it is again the relic of the Theotokos, her *maphorion*, not her icon, that was carried on the walls and was believed to have saved the city.⁷⁸

The absence of Marian icons from the pre-Iconoclast public processions can also be observed in another important urban center: Rome. As discussed earlier, it was only the image of Christ, the *acheropita*, that was carried in an annual procession for the feast of the Dormition from the Lateran to Santa Maria Maggiore. There a Marian icon customarily met it.⁷⁹

There is, however, an exception: a textual reference in Marc. Cod. Gr. 573, dated to A.D. 774–75, concerning a procession with an icon of the Theotokos. The information of this source is unreliable. The excerpt reads as follows: "When a pestilence grew in all the cities on the feast day, that is to say, in the month of August for the [feast of the] Koimesis of the Mistress [the Virgin Mary], in Rome the Roman people carried in public procession the icon not painted by human hands [ἀχειρόγραπτος] of the exceedingly holy Theotokos, placing themselves underneath it and venerating it as a remedy against all spiritual and physical disease."⁸⁰

The identification of the icon with an image of the Theotokos could be an error, since all the other sources affirm that the object customarily carried in the procession on the feast of the Dormition was Christ's so-called *acheropita/acheropsita* (*acheropsita* is a garbled form of the original Greek word *acheiropoiētos*).⁸¹ Secure references to processions with Marian icons in Rome start to appear only in the eleventh century.⁸²

To summarize, the textual evidence suggests that Marian icons were not carried in public processions before Iconoclasm in Constantinople. Despite the wide use of imperial portraits in public ceremonies in this same period,⁸³ it is relics, and objects similar to relics, such as *acheiropoiētoi*, that started to be included in public religious processions before Iconoclasm.

A homily written in the eighth century by Andrew of Crete for the feast of the Akathistos offers further support for this position. The author attributes the victory over the barbarians to the Theomator and especially the power of her girdle, kept at the Blachernai. He writes: "For neither the emperor fought, nor did the army enter into a battle arrangement, nor did the senators command, nor were the spears used, nor were the swords bared, nor did the helmets shine, nor did the shields receive the blow, but instead of all these human and material things and receiving suffering from them, the girdle of the All-Holy and Pure One achieved the victory."⁸⁴

Although it is an exaggeration of the facts, the text records the perception that the victory was achieved through the power of the relics of Mary's girdle alone. Thus, at the beginning of Iconoclasm, it was relics, not icons, that had a prominent presence in public ritual, for they were seen as the material medium through which divine power was secured. It was also relics that reentered the public rituals immediately after Iconoclasm.

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE SOURCES ON THE AVAR SIEGE AND THEOTOKOS'S ICONS

At first, the post-Iconoclast sources discussing the Avar siege remain silent about Marian panels.⁸⁵ Among these texts are the historical accounts of Patriarch Nikephoros (ca. 750–815), Theophanes the Confessor (752–818), and George Kedrenos and Constantine Manasses in the twelfth century.⁸⁶ All these historical writings attribute the victory to God and to Mary's intercession, but do not mention anything about icons of the Theometor carried in processions during the siege.

Similarly, Symeon Metaphrastes' version of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople does not record any participation or intervention of icons of the Theotokos or Christ during the Avar siege.⁸⁷ The description of the event is included in the entry for August 7: the day allotted for the celebration of the victory over the Avars and thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary. The main text comes from a manuscript dated to the tenth or eleventh century.⁸⁸

However, an icon procession, with panels of the Theometor, is attested in a variant of the *Synaxarion* in manuscript Cg of the group C originating from Calabria and dated to A.D. 1172.⁸⁹ The passage reads as follows: "Then, having taken the pure and holy icons of the All-Holy Theotokos holding the Lord, and the *acheiropoiotos* of the Savior, the patriarch Sergios walked in rogational procession together with his clergy and monks, asking for swift help from God."⁹⁰

The text clearly says that the patriarch took in procession icons of the Theometor holding the Child. The 1172 date of the manuscript gives a *terminus ante quem* by which the legend of the procession of icons of the Theotokos during the Avar siege had developed and spread. It has been argued that the manuscripts of group C of the *Synaxarion* closely follow a Byzantine prototype of the eleventh or twelfth century.⁹¹ If so, the variant of the text discussing the use of Marian icons most likely appeared sometime around or after the second half of the tenth century.⁹²

It remains a subject for future research to establish a connection between the variant text of the group C manuscripts of the *Synaxarion* and the *diegesis ophelimos* (BHG 1060) and *lectio Triodii* (BHG 1063), two accounts published in the *Patrologia graeca* that record the use of Marian icons during sieges.⁹³ Both accounts include three sieges—the Avar attack of 626 and the Arab sieges of 677–78 and 717–18—and were read as a historical introduction to the Akathistos hymn.

The *diegesis ophelimos* mentions two processions for the siege of 626:

Sergios, the patriarch, having taken these, the icons of the Theometor in which the Child, the Savior, is depicted held in the arms of his mother, walked around the walls. On the one hand, with this act he had procured for the city safety, and on the other, [he had procured] for the barbarians and enemies vehement anxiety, destruc-

tion, and flight. All these things besetting them [the enemies] brought them a little later to an all-out extermination.⁹⁴

Taking again the *acheiropoiotos* image of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, and the precious *maphorion* of the Panagia and, further, the life-bringing wood cross, the patriarch marched along the walls. And he pronounced with tears, praying: "Arise, oh, Lord, and let your enemies disperse, and disintegrate like smoke, and melt like a candle at the face of the fire!"⁹⁵

Both passages are based on the text of Theodore Synkellos; yet sentences and words are rearranged or replaced.⁹⁶ The *diegesis ophelimos* transforms the actions. While Theodore Synkellos describes Sergios as directing attention to the images of the Theotokos and Child fixed on the western gates of the city, in the *diegesis ophelimos* the patriarch actually carries the Marian icons in procession. Furthermore, in the earlier text the Virgin Mary alone pursues the barbarians; in the *diegesis*, it is her icons, carried together with the cross in a *litania*, that bring about the demise of the barbarians. Thus, the *diegesis* ascribes a miraculous function and active intervention to the Marian icons: ideas absent from the seventh-century account of Theodore Synkellos. Finally, the *diegesis* records two processions, while in Theodore there is only one procession, and it is with the *acheiropoiotos* of Christ. Sometime between the one and the other, memory of the Avar siege changed. Both mid-ninth- and tenth-century dates have been suggested for the *diegesis ophelimos*.⁹⁷ There is, however, no concrete evidence to provide a firmer date.⁹⁸

The *lectio Triodii* is a shorter text written later and deriving from the *diegesis*. It was read as a historical introduction to the feast of the Akathistos on the fifth Saturday of Lent (the hymn was read during matins on Friday night).⁹⁹ It also mentions a procession with an icon of the Theometor. In the crucial moment of the Avar siege, the patriarch Sergios is described as having led two processions: in the first he carried icons of the Panagia; in the second, the *acheiropoiotos* image of Christ, the cross, and the *maphorion* of the Virgin: "And the patriarch, carrying the holy icons of the Theometor and together with all the people, walked around the ramparts of the wall, thence having procured their safety. When Sarbaros on the east and Chaganos on the west started to burn the outskirts of the city, the patriarch walked along the city walls, carrying the *acheiropoiotos* icon of Christ and the venerated and life-giving cross, and above all the *maphorion* of the Virgin."¹⁰⁰ Once again the memory of the past is altered, and a *litania* with icons of the Theometor is retrojected into the tradition of the past event.

To summarize, the historical accounts of Theophanes and Nikephoros written in the ninth century are silent on the subject of icons during the Avar siege. So are the two sources based on Theophanes: Kedrenos and Manasses in

the twelfth century. Similarly, Symeon Metaphrastes' edition of the *Synaxarion*, composed in the late tenth century, does not change the historical account of the Avar siege. However, variants of the *Synaxarion*, such as manuscript Cg dated by its colophon to A.D. 1172, mention processions with icons of the Panagia. These *litaniai* are made even more elaborate in the *diegesis ophelimos* and the *lectio Triodii*. Here Marian icons are allegedly carried together with the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ, the cross, and the *maphorion* of the Virgin.

The later sources, such as the variant Cg of 1172, the *diegesis ophelimos*, and the *lectio Triodii*, cannot be precisely dated. These texts suggest that sometime around the second half of the tenth century legends about Marian-icon processions during the Avar siege took root, causing the change of the memory of the past. These later texts show us not what happened in the seventh century but what people of this later period invested in the siege of 626; they retrojected Middle Byzantine cult practices. The later accounts reveal how the perception of an event was modified according to changing circumstances.¹⁰¹

RELICS AND ICONS IN THE CULT OF THE MOTHER OF GOD AFTER ICONOCLASM

The development of icon processions in Constantinople can be recovered on the basis of a number of Middle Byzantine sources. In the years immediately after Iconoclasm relics remained the main public expression of the Theotokos's protection of the capital, as revealed in the account of the Russian siege in 860 and the Bulgarian siege in 926. Photios, who described the event of 860 in a sermon, never mentioned icons of the Theotokos, but attributed the victory to the miraculous workings of her *maphorion*:

When, moreover, the whole city was carrying with me her raiment for the repulse of the besiegers and the protection of the besieged, we offered freely our prayers and formed a procession.¹⁰² [. . .] Truly is this most holy garment the raiment of God's Mother! It embraced the walls, and the foes inexplicably showed their back; the city put it around itself, and the camp of the enemies was broken up as at a signal; the city bedecked itself with it, and the enemies were deprived of the hopes which bore them on. For immediately as the Virgin's garment went around the walls, the barbarians gave up the siege, and broke camp, while we were delivered from impending capture and were granted unexpected salvation.¹⁰³

Photios's homily attributes the dispersal of the enemies and the break of the siege to the intervention of the Theotokos and more specifically to her *maphorion*, carried in procession by the entire city. A resurgence of the public role of relics after Iconoclasm, from the mid-ninth to the mid-tenth centuries, is attested by their translation in large numbers to Constantinople, the con-

struction of new repositories for them, the composition of liturgical and historical texts commemorating these events, and the development of new ceremonies intended to integrate these relics into the imperial cult.¹⁰⁴

John Skylitzes describes another instance when the emperor allegedly resorted to the use of the *maphorion* of the Theotokos rather than to her icons. His account records how the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) wrapped himself in the *maphorion* of the Virgin before he went to negotiate peace with the Bulgarian ruler Symeon in A.D. 926: "The emperor, after he went together with the patriarch to the sanctuary of Blachernai and entered into the holy *Soros* [the chapel where the garment of the Theotokos was kept], gave odes of supplication to God, and took the *maphorion* of the Theotokos, and left the church, having fortified himself as with unfaltering shields. And after splendidly decorating the army that followed him, he arrived at the well-appointed place."¹⁰⁵ According to Skylitzes, it is the Theotokos's garment, not her icon, that is perceived to have secured divine intervention in the early tenth century.

In both cases, then, in the period shortly after Iconoclasm, the Russian siege of 860 and the Bulgarian attack of 926, the citizens of Constantinople or their emperor resorted to the relics of the Virgin, her *maphorion*, rather than to her icons. Painted panels of the Theotokos were not used to secure her protection of Constantinople.

The first reference to Marian icons carried in public ceremonies is recorded by Leo the Deacon in his description of the triumphal procession of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–76) after his victory over the Russian leader Svjatoslav in 971.¹⁰⁶ Tzimiskes settled a new peace treaty with the Russians and reduced the power of the Bulgarian ruler.

He [John I Tzimiskes] returned to Constantinople with great trophies and met the citizens before the walls, who were welcoming him with wreaths and scepters of wrought gold and precious gems. They led a gold-frame chariot pulled by a white horse and demanded that he ride on it and lead the customary triumphal procession. When he accepted the wreaths and the staffs, he awarded them many times over with gifts. Yet he refused to mount the chariot, but placed on the gold-wrought throne of the chariot the icon of the Theotokos, holding the divinely human Logos in her arms, which he took from Mysia [Bulgaria]. And he laid underneath it the purple garment and crowns of the Bulgarian rulers. He himself, riding upon a horse, followed behind, crowned with a crown on his head and carrying wreaths and staffs.¹⁰⁷

According to Leo the Deacon, a captured icon of the Theotokos was allotted the place of honor in the triumph. Placed in the chariot, on top of the royal garments of the Bulgarian ruler, this icon presided over the *insignia* of the Bul-

garian state and the entire triumphal procession. Thus, the Byzantine victory appeared to have been sanctioned and legitimized by the power of the Mother of God. Her icon mounted on the chariot supposedly took the place of the emperor.¹⁰⁸ Yet this was not a cult image associated with Mary's sanctuaries in Constantinople.¹⁰⁹

The same triumph is also recorded in the eleventh century by Skylitzes, yet here the account is changed: instead of a captured icon, the panel of the Theometor is called a *πολιούχος*, meaning "protector of the city." The change is significant because it shows the rise of a close linkage between Marian icons and defense of the capital at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries:

When the Russians sailed away, the emperor, having taken care of the cities and the fortresses along the banks of the river, returned to the Roman lands. The patriarch of Constantinople together with the Synod and all the officials carrying laurel wreaths welcomed him with paeans and acclamations of victory. Having lavishly outfitted a chariot driven by four white horses, they demanded that the emperor celebrate the triumph riding on it. He, however, wishing for nothing ostentatious, but showing himself to be more modest, accepted the offered wreaths and carried out the triumph on a white horse. Having placed in the chariot the garments of the Bulgarian rulers, and on top of them an icon of the Theometor as a protectress of the city, he ordered it [the chariot] to advance in front of him.¹¹⁰

Skylitzes characterized the icon not as a looted object but as a protector of the capital. The text marks a shift toward icons as the means through which the Theometor's protection of the city was manifested.¹¹¹

On a more personal basis, a similar shift toward Marian panels is recorded by Michael Psellos. He describes two occasions when Byzantine emperors resorted to icons of the Theotokos in moments of crisis. In the first instance, the emperor Basil II (976–1025) took an icon of the Panagia in his hand in the battle against the usurper Bardas Phokas on April 13, 989, at Abydos: "While [Phokas] was so boldly charging towards him, Basil rode out in front of his army too. He took his stand there, sword in hand. In the left hand he clasped the image of the Mother of the Logos, thinking this icon the surest protection against his opponent's terrifying onslaught."¹¹²

Basil II held in his left hand a personal icon of the Theometor, not a *palladion* of the city.¹¹³ Anthony Kaldellis has argued that the icon in the narrative was a device used to hide the real cause of death for Bardas Phokas, that is, that Basil II poisoned him.¹¹⁴ But whether the story about the icon was true or just a pious fabrication, Basil's action still did not have the power of a grand public gesture with a *palladion*-icon. What it shows, however, is the essential role that

Theotokos played in legitimizing imperial power. Access to her most powerful relics and icons meant access to the throne.

Similar is the case with the icon of the emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–34). According to Psellos, during his expedition against the Saracens in 1030 near Aleppo, Romanos lost courage and fled his camp. The Saracens entered and plundered it, taking much booty on their ride back. When Romanos sneaked back into the camp, he was delighted to find his icon of the Panagia intact. Due to this panel, he regained his courage and exhorted his troops:

Indeed, the icon of the Theometor was presented to him,¹¹⁵ the image that the Roman emperors habitually carry with them on campaign as a guide and guardian of all the army. This alone had not been taken by the enemy.

When the emperor saw this beautiful sight (he was particularly reverent in his veneration of this icon) he immediately took heart, and holding it in his hands—but no words can describe how he embraced it, how he bedewed it with his tears, how heartfelt were the terms in which he addressed it, how he recalled Our Lady's kindness in the past and those many times when she, his ally, has rescued and saved the Roman power in moments of crisis.¹¹⁶

There are two very interesting elements in this account: first, the gloss that a particular icon of the Mother of God habitually carried by Roman emperors in battle has saved them on numerous occasions; second, the emotive and affectionate response of Romanos III Argyros to the panel of the Theometor.¹¹⁷ About the former, this is the first instance where a specific Marian icon is said to have been traditionally carried in battle.¹¹⁸ In this context the icon of the Mother of God has become the vehicle of expression of Mary's traditional role as protectress.

The same link between an icon of the Panagia and the imperial military campaigns is also alleged by Attaleiates in the third quarter of the eleventh century:

Something else happened that made it seem the emperor [Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71)] strove for justice, but in fact he allotted an excessive and even impious punishment. For a soldier accused of stealing a little Turkish donkey was brought in chains into the presence of the emperor. The punishment meted out surpassed the transgression, for the penalty was not executed in monetary terms, but in cutting off the [perpetrator's] nose.¹¹⁹ The poor man had pleaded a lot and had given up all his possessions, and put forward as an intercessor the all-holy icon of the Lady celebrated in all hymns, the Theotokos *Blachernitissa*, which was customary for the pious emperors to take into battles and campaigns as an invin-

cible sword. Yet no compassion stirred the emperor, nor reverence for the asylum [given] by the holy image. While the emperor was watching, together with everyone, and the icon was being held, the wretched man had his nose cut off even though he cried loudly and shouted profusely.¹²⁰

The text reveals that by the second half of the eleventh century an icon from the Blachernai church, called *Blachernitissa*, had become the supernatural protector of the Byzantine emperors in battle. The same panel bestowed asylum to the pious who sought it out. In executing the penalty in the presence of the icon and disregarding the immunity that the icon bestowed on the condemned, the emperor, as Attaleiates indirectly accuses, commits both an injustice and a sin.

The records of the Russian siege of 860 and Romanos I Lekapenos's preparation for the peace talks with Symeon in 926 suggest that relics of the Theotokos continued to function as the sole means of expression of her protection of Constantinople in the period immediately after Iconoclasm. Only starting with the mid-tenth century, according to the extant written sources, did Marian icons begin to acquire a public role in triumphal processions and battles. Through these nonliturgical one-time events, panels of the Theometor gradually became the main vehicle of public expression of her cult in Constantinople. By the second half of the eleventh century, as Psellos and Attaleiates record, Byzantine emperors carried a special Marian icon on military campaigns: the *Blachernitissa*. Yet another icon of the Mother of God, the Hodegetria, remained in the city as a guardian.

THE ICON OF THE THEOMETOR HODEGETRIA IN THE MEMORY OF THE AVAR AND ARAB SIEGES

The Middle Byzantine accounts of the Avar and Arab sieges construct the identity of the Hodegetria icon-πολιόθχος. The earliest surviving evidence of the revision of the past that imbued this object with its special power is preserved in a Latin text known as *Anonymous Tarragonensis*, dated to 1075–98/99.¹²¹ After passages that discuss the Hodegetria icon and its Tuesday procession, an explanation of what made this icon so powerful follows:

Certainly more numerous are the miracles of the saints in Constantinople on account of their number and steadfastness. In this noble city the wonders and miracles of the Mother of God shine more brightly than any other place of the world. This [phenomenon] is well deserved. For here she is more loved and venerated than in any other place of the world. It is said indeed and believed that Constantinople is the proper and special city of the Mother of God. For

when the emperor Constantine, pious lover of the Christian lands, considered where it would be more apt to build the city to house the governing apparatus of his empire, Christ appeared to him, as it is written in the books of the Greeks, and in showing him the place ordered him there to build the city that he [Constantine] had in mind, and said: "Go and build in this place a city dedicated to my mother!" Constantine understood and built the city of Constantinople in the place shown to him by God. Approaching his death, he commended the city to the hands of God and his most pious mother. She is the most blessed guardian in day and night, since she manifests herself in her numerous miracles, from which I will relate one so great for the praise and honor of their Mother of God.

Once Constantinople was besieged and doomed, surrounded both on land and sea by two armies. The enemies vehemently pressed on to capture the city. The citizens of Constantinople, indeed surrounded, were no longer able to resist; with their such great virtue they resorted to that safe refuge, which they consider to be behind God for all of his [people] in times of need, and sought shelter in the church of the Mother of God,¹²² whose icon, sacred among the acknowledged panels, they carried across the whole town, all of them following her,¹²³ chanting and imploring mercy from the Mother of God, so that she might protect her city from the danger of the enemies' siege.¹²⁴

The passage talks about Constantinople's dedication to the Mother of God.¹²⁵ It insists that of all the cities in the world this one is distinguished by its most pious dedication to the Theotokos. Guided in his actions by Christ, Constantine the Great chose it as a capital and dedicated it to the Mother of God. The Theometor's love was manifested in the numerous miracles she performed on behalf of her city. Her greatest deed was to break the Avar siege through the powers of her icon of the Hodegetria. The Avar siege is the event adduced, because the city is described as having been surrounded by the two armies of the Avars and the Persians, a situation that occurred only in 626. Moreover, since the preceding passages discuss the Hodegetria icon and its weekly Tuesday procession,¹²⁶ the identity of the panel-savior should be understood as the Hodegetria.

The *Anonymous Tarragonensis* gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1075–98/99 for the emergence of the tradition attributing the victory over the Avars to the Hodegetria icon.¹²⁷ The perception of the way the Theotokos manifested her help was thus completely transformed: from firm belief in Mary's personal presence and engagement in battle, as described in the seventh-century sources, to that in her assistance realized through her icons, as revealed in the late-tenth-century texts, and finally to the conviction that the Theotokos's pro-

tection was activated through the powers of the Hodegetria icon, as attested in the eleventh-century accounts.

A similar association of the Theometor's protection with her special icon of the Hodegetria is also articulated in the *diegesis ophelimos* and the *lectio Triodii*, albeit for the Arab siege in 717–18. The *diegesis* mentions a procession with an icon, while the *lectio Triodii* specifies that this panel was the Hodegetria. The *diegesis* reads as follows:

And the Christ-loving people of the city, making a lengthy procession with tears, as was their custom even in the time of peace, carrying the all-holy wood of the cross of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and the holy icon of the Virgin, they walked along the walls, raising their hands to God and saying: "Arise, oh Lord, do not cast off your people forever,"¹²⁸ for I behold your enemies have made a noise against you, and the ones who hate you have lifted up their head[s].¹²⁹ Do not give your inheritance to reproach, that the heathen should rule over us lest they should say: "Where is their God?"¹³⁰ But they would recognize you, that your name is Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God the Father.¹³¹

In the later text, the *lectio Triodii*, the Marian panel is identified with the Hodegetria icon: "And the holy people of the city carrying the sacred wood of the precious and life-giving cross, and the venerable icon of the Theometor Hodegetria, they circled the walls of the city, imploring God with their cries."¹³² So this later text clearly reveals the belief that the Theometor's help was manifested through her special icon of the Hodegetria, carried in a public procession along the walls of the city.

The same revision of the past is also found in the chronicle of the historian and *doge* Andrea Dandolo (1306–54):

The emperor Leo the Isaurian started to rule in the year 718 in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In the following year the Constantinopolitans were again under heavy siege by the Saracens, who came from Egypt and Palestine. Then, upon taking from the monastery of the Virgin the icon, which was painted by Luke while she was still alive, they carried it in a procession, praying in order that she might help in the dangers, and to this day the same act is performed.¹³³ When [the icon was] placed on the waves, immediately a storm arose that either sank or destroyed all the ships of the Saracens. The icon acquired the name Hodegetria, meaning "she who leads the way," when she appeared to two blind men and led them to the church, where they regained their sight.¹³⁴

Instead of being carried in a public *litania*, the Hodegetria is presented as directly engaging the enemies, swimming on the waters of the Golden Horn and destroying the enemies' ships.

The memory of the Avar siege was in a constant flux in Byzantium; the perception of the past changed as the cult of the Mother of God in Constantinople developed. The seventh-century eyewitness accounts presented the Theotokos as physically present in the battle, fighting for her people at the front line. In the Middle Byzantine period Mary's power was identified with her icons carried in procession, even more specifically with the Hodegetria. The altered perception of the past demonstrates the growing role of icons in the expression of the cult of the Mother of God in Constantinople.

Even though panels of the Theotokos existed in the pre-Iconoclast period, there is no evidence that they were carried in public processions or that they were perceived as *palladia* of Constantinople. The main reason they lacked a public function was the lack of popular perception of them as transparent conduits to the divine.¹³⁵ The cult of images appeared after and was always dependent on the more established cult of relics.¹³⁶ The first images that penetrated the public sphere, largely because of their special status as both relics and paintings, were the *acheiropoietai*. This explains why the patriarch Sergios carried the *acheiropoietai* of Christ on the city walls during the Avar siege. As an imprint of the divine body, the *acheiropoietai* was closer to a relic than was a painted portrait.

While *acheiropoietai* appear to have been integrated into the public life of cities and brought out at a time of a political crisis, icons seem to have lagged behind. Yet after Iconoclasm this relation became reversed; *acheiropoietai* all but disappeared from urban processions in Constantinople,¹³⁷ while Marian icons were gradually integrated into the public *litaniai*. The panels of the Panagia first entered public processions in connection with special events such as military expeditions and imperial triumphs. The first mentions of weekly liturgical processions with Marian images appear in sources from the eleventh century.¹³⁸ In some cases icons are integrated into established services such as the Friday night *presbeia*.¹³⁹ In other cases, icon processions were created anew, such as the Hodegetria *litania* on Tuesday mornings at the Hodegon monastery.¹⁴⁰ By the middle of the eleventh century a new practice with new cult images had appeared, one of which was the *Blachernitissa*, the icon carried in battle by the Byzantine emperors. Yet it is the Hodegetria icon, staying in the city at all times, that eventually became the *palladion* of Constantinople, the emperor, and the state. As a result, this icon was placed in the center of the narratives of the Avar and Arab sieges.



In the Context of War

3

The Theotokos embodied two concepts vital for the context of war: virginal motherhood, which is the source of Mary's invincibility, and motherly sacrifice—in selflessly offering her Child to the world, the Theotokos presented a model of selfless love indispensable for any state recruiting armies. Of the two, the Theomator's virginal motherhood is the dominant motif in both Byzantine texts and images connected with the sphere of war, and thus my emphasis here is on the origins and development of that concept as recorded in poetic, narrative, and liturgical texts as well as images. Tracing this development will reveal a process of transformation similar to that laid out in the previous chapter: from the perception of Mary's direct involvement in battle to the gradual association of her military functions with relics and icons. My discussion pulls together diverse objects from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries; it touches upon the role of the Holy Cross in the imperial ideology of victory and explores the meaning of Marian representations on crosses. Along with these objects, icons of the Theomator were also brought to the battlefield. I argue that they were adapted for the context of war, first, through the introduction of named representations of the Virgin signifying victory and, second, through the inclusion of militarily dressed warrior saints in the frames. Through these means the Theomator emerged in the visual tradition as the general (*strategos*) of the Christian armies. And since the Blachernai was the site of the Byzantine imperial victory ideology, focus is placed on this sanctuary and its icons.

THE BLACHERNAI SITE

The Blachernai monastery became the site outside the palace most closely identified with Mary's functions as guarantor of imperial victory and guardian of the state and city. The place was also traditionally associated with the Avar siege. Here, according to Theodore the Synkellos, the Theotokos rebuffed the attacks of the enemies and destroyed the boats of the Slavs.¹ For these reasons alone the delivery was annually commemorated at the Blachernai. After the Avar siege, the emperor Herakleios extended the city walls to include the former extramural foundation (fig. 1).²

Two inscriptions, one written in the apse, the other on the basin of the spring, record the way the site was perceived and how its sacred space was arranged. These epigrams are attributed to George of Pisidia and recorded in the tenth-century *Palatine Anthology*.³ The inscription in the apse reads: "Here they who are set up to rule over the earth [the Byzantine emperors] believe that their scepters are rendered victorious. Here the patriarch, ever wakeful, averts many catastrophes in the world. The barbarians attacking the city, on only seeing Her [the Virgin] at the head of the army, bent at once their stubborn necks."⁴

In this inscription, Mary and her sanctuary at the Blachernai guarantee imperial victory. The Virgin rises as the formidable force that stops the approaching enemies and brings them to defeat. According to the inscription, the power of the Theotokos is activated by the performance of the weekly liturgical ceremony, the *presbeia* led by the patriarch.⁵ These lines were perhaps read on special occasions during the liturgy. Mary's power in granting victory was thus activated the moment the words were pronounced out loud.⁶

Originally, the presence of the Theotokos at the Blachernai was invested in the miraculous waters of the holy spring, which is mentioned in the second epigram of Pisides from the Blachernai: "Here are the fountains of purification from the flesh; here is redemption of errors of the soul. There is no evil circumstance, but from her [the Theotokos] gushed a miraculous gift to cure it. Here, when she overthrew the foe, she destroyed them by water, not by the spear. She had not one method of defeat alone, who bore Christ and put the barbarians to flight."⁷

Since this is an inscription written on the basin of a spring, the text draws a link between the powers of the Theotokos in war and the sacred waters. Mary crushes the barbarians not by means of a spear but with the holy waters alone. This perception of the Theotokos's victory by water and tears is a recurrent element in Pisides' writings.⁸

Mary's power in granting victory and protection was not initially extended to the relic of her robe brought to the Blachernai in the fifth century.⁹ According to the text describing the Avar siege of 621, her tunic (called *εσθής*) did not per-

form any miraculous role. It was in fact brought for safekeeping into Hagia Sophia and returned to its extramural sanctuary only after the end of the siege.

But the sacred robe began to protect the city later on. As discussed in the previous chapter, Mary's robe (called *στολή*) was carried in procession on the walls of Constantinople during the Russian siege of 864.¹⁰ Similarly, in the Bulgarian siege of Constantinople in 920, Romanos I Lekapenos wrapped himself in the veil (*ᾠμοφόριον*) before he went out to negotiate peace with the Bulgarian ruler Symeon.¹¹ Alexios I Komnenos brought a piece of it (now referred to as the *μαφόριον*) to the battlefield in 1089.¹² This textual evidence suggests that in the period immediately after Iconoclasm Mary's relic became the focus of the traditional military cult at the Blachernai. Judging from the change of terms, the relic that first was considered a robe (*esthes*) later was called a veil (*maphorion*).¹³

The cult of Mary's *maphorion* as an object ensuring victory was gradually supplanted by a new devotion focused on Marian icons. Most of the evidence has already been presented in the previous chapter. Byzantine emperors started to carry the *Blachernitissa* on their military campaigns.¹⁴ The icon was called the "general," the "guardian of the army," and the "invincible weapon."¹⁵ It was not linked to the protection of Constantinople but to imperial victory and military expeditions outside the city.

VIRGINAL MOTHERHOOD

The texts discussing Mary's participation in battle always attribute her supernatural power to her paradoxical virginal motherhood. According to the inscription on the spring of the Blachernai, Mary wins victory not with spear but with water, much as she became a mother without losing her virginity.¹⁶ Although the concept of virginity and victory had been present in the ancient world, Mary's paradoxical virginal motherhood was new.¹⁷

The virgin warrior Athena offers a classical example.¹⁸ She was worshipped as a goddess of war, among many other functions; her temples in the Roman period were sometimes built next to military garrisons.¹⁹ She was known as the *νικηφόρος* ("bringer of victory"), *πάνοπλος* ("[the one] in full armor"), *πολιοῦχος* ("city protector"), *πρόμαχος* ("first-in-battle"), and *πυλαιμάχος* ("fighter at the gates").²⁰ Along with Athena, the virgin-warrior tradition was also transmitted through the image of the Amazons.²¹ They were believed to have partaken in battle only in the period in which they maintained their purity.²² The ideas of virginity and victory promoted by the image of Athena were also linked to the Vestals in Rome, who lived in the temple of Vesta, tended her eternal fire, and guarded the *palladion* of Athena.²³ If a Vestal lost her virginity during her term in office, her misdeed was believed to incur a mis-

fortune in war.²⁴ The purity of the vestals thus safeguarded the city. The images of Athena, the Vestals, and Amazons also informed the representations and powers of Victoria and Roma, the main civic deities defining the Roman theory of empire.²⁵ All these pagan goddesses presented the model of virginity as a source of power.

Like the power of these ancient goddesses, the militancy of Mary was perceived to issue forth from her perpetual virginity. The Theotokos is consistently addressed as a virgin or *parthenos* in the seventh-century accounts of the Avar siege:²⁶

Upon slaughtering the enemies in the hands of the Christian soldiers, she brought down to earth the aggression of the barbarians and enfeebled their whole army. [. . .] [The intervention of the Virgin Mary] gave courage to our [soldiers], who knew her power through experience and believed that it was truly the Theometor who would protect her city and fight. So, from then on throughout the day, arrows and stones flew and different local close military engagements occurred along the whole wall. And the Virgin [*parthenos*] appeared everywhere, winning uncontested victory and inflicting horror and fear on the enemies. She was giving strength to her servants and protecting the subjects from harm, on the one hand, and destroying the enemies, on the other.²⁷

In the sea battle, the Virgin sank men and boats together before her Blachernai monastery. Consequently the whole bay [i.e., the Golden Horn], if it is not too harsh to say, could be crossed without wetting your feet because of the dead bodies scattered at random and empty *monoxyla* [a type of boat carved out of a single wood trunk] floating aimlessly. It was proved most clearly that the Virgin [*parthenos*] alone fought this battle and won the victory.²⁸

The passages offer a shocking representation of the Virgin in battle. She engages in a hand-to-hand combat with the enemies, killing the barbarians in order to protect her people. Her active belligerence, linked to her perpetual virginity, echoes qualities of the virgin warrior Athena. Her purity as a power in battle is emulated by the soldiers, who observed chastity before battle.²⁹

The seventh-century writers constructed an image of the Theotokos by employing existing literary models of Athena in war. In the *Chronicon Paschale* the enemy leader, *khagan* of the Avars, sees the Virgin walking on the walls of Constantinople: "The impious *khagan* in that moment of the war said this: 'I saw a woman with an august bearing running alone on the walls.'³⁰ This story is modeled on an account by Zosimos, written in 501, that tells the story of the siege of Athens in 396: "And I should not pass over in silence the reason for the

city's miraculous preservation, because it will excite piety in all who hear of it. When Alaric and his whole army came to the city, he saw the tutelary goddess Athena walking about the wall, looking just like her statue, armed and ready to resist attack."³¹ Athena, then, in the guise of her statue—a trope perhaps meant to evoke the Athena Promachos, set on the Akropolis and visible from a great distance—appears as an armed soldier protecting the walls of the city. This image informed the later descriptions of the Virgin Mary.

In addition to strength stemming from purity, Mary also wields the power of divine motherhood, previously associated with the pagan mother goddesses.³² In the seventh century the two extreme manifestations of Mary's power are captured in the word *Theometor*, meaning "Mother of God," and *parthenos*, "virgin." The account by Theodore Synkellos, describing Mary's participation in the Avar siege, starts with the Incarnation of Christ and the miracle of Mary's perpetual virginity. Her purity, tied to her miraculous motherhood, becomes the source of her power in war.³³

The same concept is carried further in the poem of George of Pisidia. In the opening verses Mary wins victory in battle through her paradoxical virginal motherhood:

If a painter wanted to show the triumph of the battle,
he might put forward the One who bore without a seed
and only paint her image.
For she alone always knows how to conquer nature,
first by birth, and then by battle.
For as she then gave birth without a seed,
in the same way she now gives birth to salvation with no weapons,
so that through both deeds she might be found to be a virgin
indomitable in the battle as she was in giving birth.³⁴

The poet draws a parallel between attaining victory and giving birth. The supernatural nature of parturition without the loss of virginity is compared to the paradoxical nature of the Virgin's victory achieved without shedding blood. The concept of Mary's virginal motherhood is developed further:

You do everything in such a way
that you never pass a barren soul unnoticed,
but you are always sowing and creating children for God every day.
You preserve your virginity, yet remain more a mother
And especially now you are in travail for everyone,
for the City and the entire land, wrapped in swaddling clothes,
has been saved by God through you alone!
Hail, general of active vigilance!
for you, having stood up with a courageous heart,

spoke without saying a word,
 and your resistance immediately became the demise of the enemies!
 Hail, general of the armed tears,
 which incinerate the barbaric insolence!
 For the more you spread the flows of the eyes,
 the more you prevent the flow of blood.
 For seeing our thorny filth
 the result of the fruitless evil of our bad deeds
 [sent] toward burning and destruction,
 you intercept the fire about to be set on the woods,
 [the fire] already placing a cut on the trees.
 You make haste, upon opening the wells of your eyes,
 you irrigate the dry land, and quench the fire.
 You have transformed the barren hearts
 to bear fruits from an unusual outpour of rain.³⁵

The emphasis in George of Pisidia's poem is on Mary's motherhood. She takes care of her city, Constantinople, as if it were her child, wrapped in swaddling clothes. She attains victory in a paradoxical way, through intercession, tears, and water. Her victory extends to the cosmic level; it is seen as parallel to the change of seasons, the water quenching fire, and the growth and ripening of fruit.

The Akathistos hymn formulated the most influential and lasting example of how the Theotokos offered victory and protection through the powers of her virginal motherhood.³⁶ The second introduction to the hymn, perhaps written to celebrate the end of the Avar siege, presents the image of the Virgin Mary as the general of the Christian armies:

To you our leader in battle and defender,
 O Theotokos, I, your city delivered from sufferings,
 ascribe hymns of victory and thanksgiving.
 Since you are invincible in power,
 free me from all kinds of dangers.
 that I may cry to you:
 "Hail bride unwedded."³⁷

The militant and victorious image of the Theotokos, characterized in the opening verses, is subsequently linked to the hymn's main subject, Mary's paradoxical virginal motherhood. Throughout the poem her special nature is frequently rehearsed: "Hail you who unite virginity and childbirth."³⁸ "For virgins and for all who flee to you, you are a wall. O Virgin Theotokos."³⁹ With an introduction presenting the Virgin as a general, and a body of the text focused on the Incarnation, the Akathistos sanctioned the belief that Mary's invincible power in war rested on her paradoxical virginal motherhood. By the tenth cen-

tury the hymn was annually performed on the eve of Saturday of the fifth week of Lent, a day intended to commemorate the Virgin Mary's victory over the barbarians and to offer thanks to her for her unfailing protection of Constantinople.⁴⁰ Thus, the link between the image of the virginal mother and victory in war established by the Akathistos hymn became firmly engraved in Byzantine consciousness.⁴¹ Due to the regular airing of the Akathistos hymn, victory in battle, when sought from the Theotokos, was attributed to the miraculous powers of her virginal motherhood.

This concept was sustained in later periods, as evidenced by three Middle Byzantine texts: a tenth-century prayer said before battle, a commemorative service for dead soldiers, and a *parakletikos kanon*, or rogational service, of the early eleventh century.⁴² In all three Mary's power issues from her continual purity and motherhood of the Logos. In the prayer before battle she is addressed as follows:

Virgin, divinely wedded, entreat God, whom you incarnated, to save us from the insults of the barbarians and all other harm so that we may glorify you [. . .] Your action, All Pure One Theotoke, consists in the destruction of the walls and cities and of the insolence of our adversaries for the preservation of your people; [. . .] having your help in the dangers, we might find your protection, Mother of God, fighting against our enemies, and saving [us] at sea, and protecting [us] on land [. . .] Oh pure Mistress, the Christian army is enriched by having you as an invincible general in battles."⁴³

The Virgin Mary is beseeched to come to the rescue of her people and to entreat her Son on behalf of the faithful. She saves her people and secures victory: "Show us as victors, exalt us, who always exalt you, strengthen the scepters of the emperors who worship your Son with yearning, and decorate their army with crowns of victory, Mother [*meter*] Virgin [*parthenos*]."⁴⁴

This text presents Mary in her imperial role as Victoria. These words recall the inscription on the apse of the Blachernai church and the Pharos: in the former the Theotokos makes the scepters of the emperors victorious; in the latter she opens her arms to procure victory for the emperors.⁴⁵ The prayer also alludes to the Akathistos hymn, where Mary is called the "precious diadem of pious kings," the "immovable tower" and "impregnable wall," "through [the Virgin] trophies are raised up" and "enemies fall."⁴⁶

Mary's virginal motherhood is revealed as the source of her power also in the tenth-century commemorative service for dead soldiers: "You appeared a virgin, pure mother, you were supernaturally perceived as a mother in virginity, for you conceive without a seed, and give birth to God, who has revealed your supernatural character."⁴⁷

A similar image of the militant Mary is developed in the *parakletikos kanon* attributed to John Mauropous, bishop of Euchaita:⁴⁸

You, the august one, who has given birth to the Lord, powerful in strength and strong in battles, fight together with us with your powerful and strong hand against the enemies who wage war against us! [. . .] Just as Sennacherib's whole army [was] utterly [destroyed], annihilate now with your powerful hand, oh Mistress, the army of the barbarians surrounding us! We arm ourselves with you against the bitter enemies who wage war against us; against them we move you, oh Pure One, to the battle line, for you are the Chief General of the Christians!⁴⁹

Oh Mistress, when God, who does everything, expresses his will through a sign [command], the order of nature is vanquished. For upon supernaturally giving birth to him, you can do whatever you want. Therefore annihilate utterly those who want to destroy your city!⁵⁰

The "command" (νεύμα) refers to the Incarnation of the Logos.⁵¹ By giving birth to Christ, yet preserving her virginity, Mary suppresses nature. Her power issuing from her paradoxical virginal motherhood is then turned against the barbarian attacks.⁵²

The Akathistos hymn formulated most clearly this idea of invincibility of Mary's power in war. The same concept was then restated in the sources on the Avar and Arab sieges and the Middle Byzantine texts coming from the context of war. As both a virgin and a mother, Mary in the Byzantine perception rose to become the invincible general of the Christian army.

Two later texts explicitly present the Theotokos as the *strategos* who dispenses her trusted soldiers in battle. The tenth-century writer Leo the Deacon narrates the following about the battle of 971:

The entire camp of the Romans saw a man, who nobody knew before or after these events, riding on a white horse and spreading confusion in the ranks of the enemies. They were saying that he was one of the Theodoroi, the triumphant martyr saints. The emperor always used them as vanguards and champions against the enemies. For indeed it happened that this battle took place on the day on which we traditionally celebrate the memory of Saint Theodore Stratelates ["the general"]. A pious woman in Constantinople confirmed that it was an apparition of a higher power. On the day before the battle, she saw in a dream that she came into the presence of the Theotokos and heard her say to a soldier: "Lord Theodore, your and my John [the emperor John Tzimiskes] is in critical circumstances, hurry to his help!"⁵³

In this narrative the Theotokos does not enter the battle but sends trusted warriors to the field. It is not coincidental that this image of Mary as a *strategos* is associated with the emperor Tzimiskes, who justified his right to the throne with his successes as general.⁵⁴ The cult of venerating soldier saints such as Theodore Stratelates and Theodore Teron (the Recruit) also seems to have intensified in the second half of the tenth century in response to the political needs of the emperor-generals who came to power.⁵⁵ As state symbols, both the Virgin Mary and the warrior saints upheld the imperial theory of power based on victories in battle.

The same function of the Theotokos as a *strategos* appears in a text discussing the battle at Myriokephalon in 1176. Yet on this occasion she manifests her presence through her icon:⁵⁶

The day on which the emperor Manuel Komnenos set out on his dangerous march, a certain man, a bilingual, and a Roman by race, whose name was Mavropoulos, came to him and related that he dreamed he entered a church named after [Saint] Cyrus, and as he was making a propitiatory offering, he heard a voice coming from the icon of the Mother of God saying, "The emperor is now in utmost danger, who will go forth in my name to assist him?" The voice of one unseen answered, "Let [Saint] George go." "He is sluggish," came the reply. "Let [Saint] Theodore set forth," then suggested the voice, but he was also rejected, and finally came the painful response that no one could avert the impending evil.⁵⁷

This dream vision forebodes the disastrous outcome of the battle at Myriokephalon, but the eleventh-century text also links Mary's role as *strategos* to her icons. It is important to explore how these panels functioned in the context of war.

THE STRATEGIKOI STAUROI

The cross was one of the most important objects carried by the Byzantine army in battle and triumph.⁵⁸ It was a sign of victory.⁵⁹ The concept was promoted through the myth of Constantine the Great.⁶⁰ According to the legend, Constantine saw a cross in his dream before the battle at the Milvian bridge and heard a voice saying: "In this you will be victorious."⁶¹ The legend is depicted in a miniature from the ninth-century manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Gr. 510, fol. 440) (fig. 33).⁶² At the top Constantine dreams his vision of the cross; in the middle register he charges at the Milvian bridge and kills with his spear the fleeing Maxentius. Constantine's triumph is glorified by the cross shining in the skies above; the words ἐν τούτῳ νίκη are inscribed inside it.

Through Constantine's victory, the cross acquired a military role. Yet a popular cult of the relic developed in Constantinople only in the late sixth century. The veneration intensified with the translation of the True Cross from Jerusalem to Constantinople in 629;⁶³ it gained particular importance in the period from the seventh to the tenth century, during the Byzantine wars with the Arabs.⁶⁴ In the Middle Byzantine period a special bejeweled cross (βασιλικός σταυρός) was customarily carried before the Byzantine emperors during military expeditions.⁶⁵ In addition, cross-standards or processional crosses (στρατηγικός σταυρός, σταυρικός τύπος, or σταυρός) were taken into battle,⁶⁶ and small pectoral crosses were likely privately worn by the soldiers.⁶⁷

The war cry itself, "The cross has been victorious!" evoked the paradigmatic victory of Constantine.⁶⁸ An eleventh-century prayer before battle encourages the troops to recall the memory of Constantine and his victorious cross: "To Constantine, the first Christian emperor, you [God] showed the divine cross in the skies and said: 'Take courage, in this you will be victorious!' Through the power of the cross, O Lord, now give victory, strength, and divine might to your army, since you are merciful [. . .] Lord, save your people and bless your inheritance, bestow on the emperors victories against the barbarians, protecting your state through the cross."⁶⁹

The imperial cross and the military standards should be identified with processional crosses of considerable size, such as the late-tenth-century bejeweled example at the Lavra on Mount Athos.⁷⁰ In the inscription on the back of the cross this object is addressed as a weapon (ὄπλον),⁷¹ with which the soldiers in Christ are encouraged to "gore" (κεραταιοῦμεν) their enemies.⁷² The cross is perceived to function as a spear in the hands of the army. The images decorating it partake in both the battle and the triumph.

In a number of cases Marian representations cover the exterior of metal crosses.⁷³ In some cases the image type is repeatedly represented on the obverse and reverse sides of the same cross, as for instance on an eleventh-century processional cross from Lahil, Georgia (fig. 34).⁷⁴ Four identical medallions depicting the Panagia and Child appear on the vertical bar. The Virgin raises her hand in prayer; Christ responds by blessing. His benevolent gesture ensures the success of the prayer, hence victory.

In another example, from Brili, Georgia, dated to the late tenth century, the image of the Mother and Child is paired with the Crucifixion. The Theometor holding the infant is featured at the bottom of the cross, while the crucified Christ is placed above (fig. 35).⁷⁵ Mary's virginal motherhood, as an expression of victory over nature, is in turn linked to Christ's victory over death at the Crucifixion.⁷⁶ The pairing of these two images of paradoxes expresses the idea of a double victory.

Figure 33

The story of Constantine's victory over Maxentius and of Helena's discovery of the True Cross. Manuscript with the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, mid-ninth century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Gr. 510, fol. 440. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 34
Metal cross from Lahil, Georgia,
eleventh century, reverse.

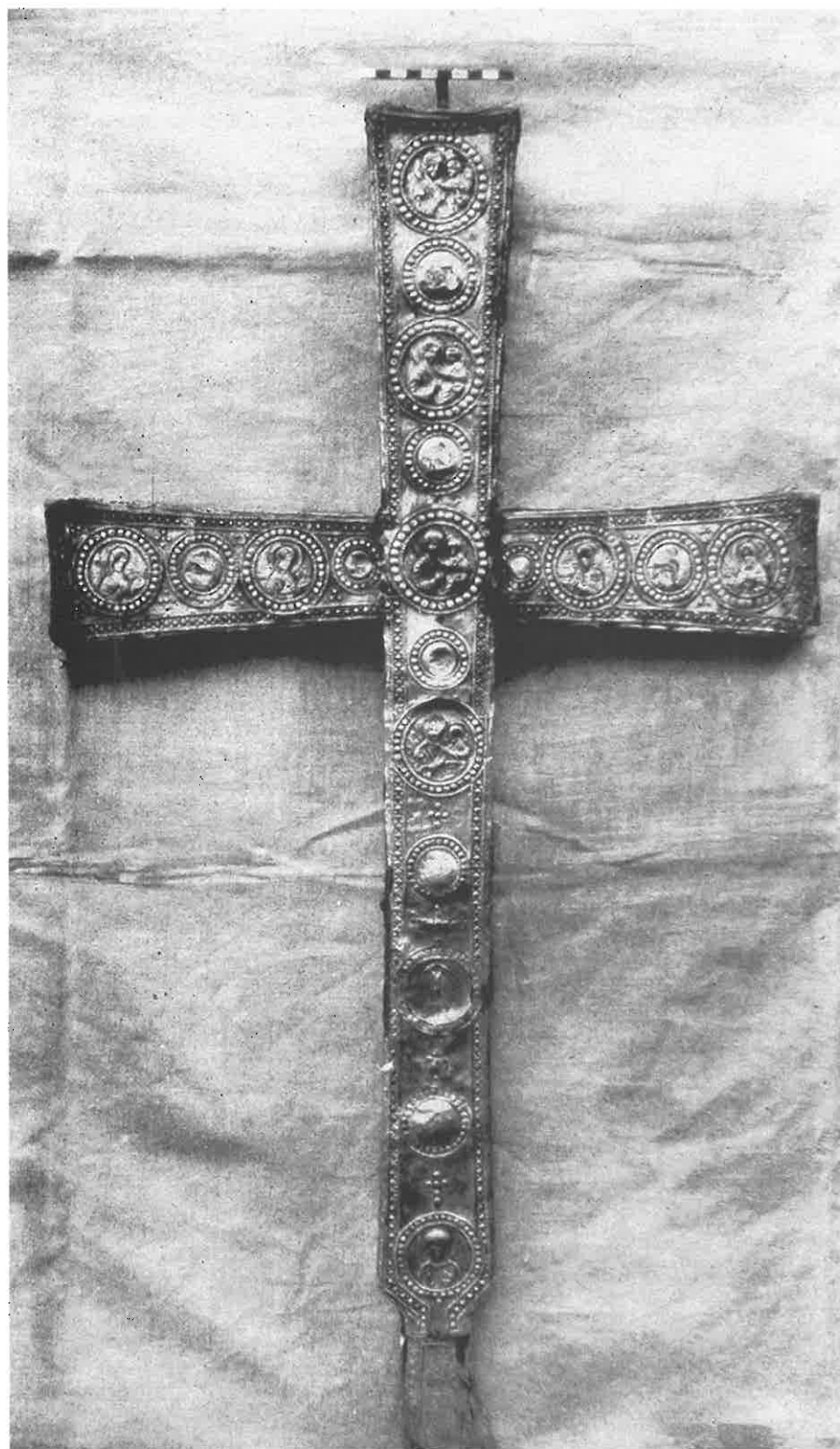


Figure 35
Metal cross from Brili, Georgia,
late tenth century. Inscription:
"Christ, grant to the *curopalates*
David [David of Tao, 966–1001]
length of days, Amen."

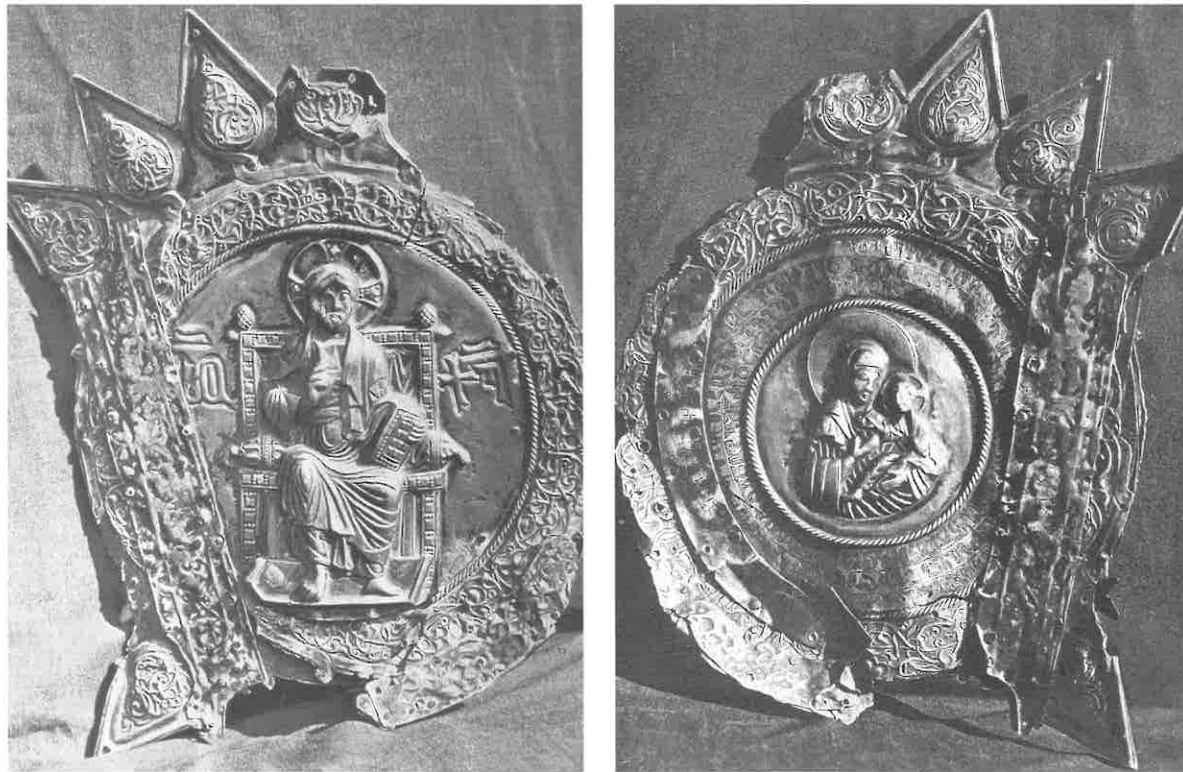
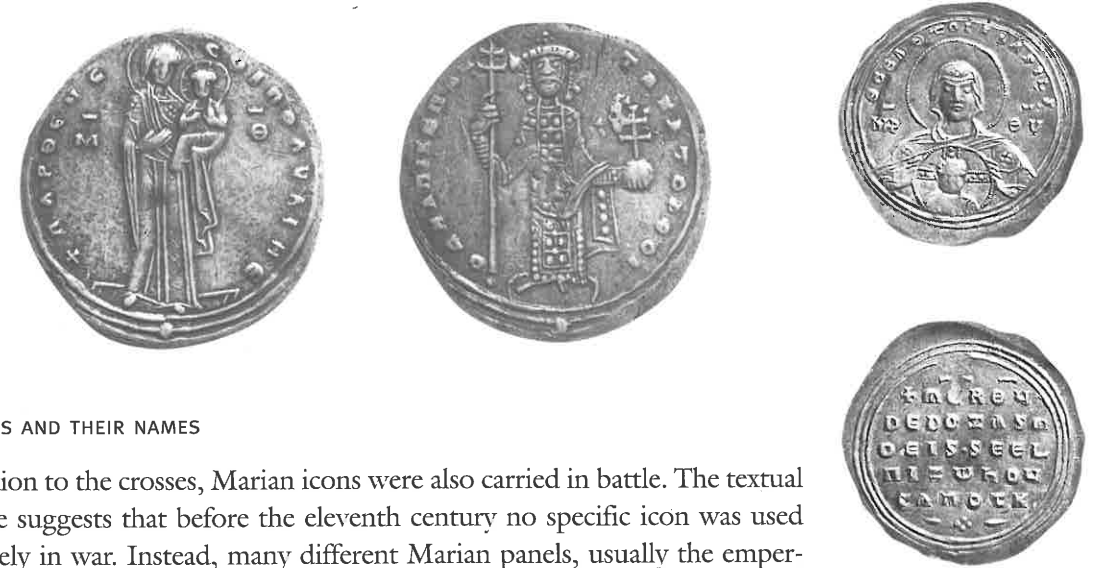


Figure 36 (above left)
Enthroned Christ, metal finial of the stem of a banner, thirteenth century, Canieti, Georgia, front side.

Figure 37 (above right)
Virgin and Child, metal finial of the stem of a banner, thirteenth century, Canieti, Georgia, back side. Inscription: "I, the daughter of the king of kings Demetrios, Queen Rusudan [r. 1223–45], at the order [of her brother King Giorgi IV Lasha], made this banner for the repose of the soul of [. . .]; now in commemoration of them I dedicate [it] to you, Christ, divine Logos."

The same concept is also manifested in the commemorative service for dead soldiers.⁷⁷ Here the military role of the Virgin Mary is exclusively conceived through her paradoxical virginal motherhood. All the *theotokia*, or direct addresses to the Theometor, laud her role in the Incarnation and praise her purity and motherhood. At the same time, the image of Christ is entirely developed on the basis of the Crucifixion. The sacrifice of the Son is linked to the martyrdom of the soldiers.⁷⁸ The liturgical service thus presents in words the same concept that the crosses achieve by pairing the images of the crucified Christ with his immaculate virgin mother holding the infant.

In addition to the crosses, other objects with military functions also display Marian images, as does, for instance, a thirteenth-century metal finial of a military standard from Čanieti, Georgia (figs. 36, 37).⁷⁹ It is the only known example of its kind. The disk was traditionally affixed to the top of a pole holding a banner, as depicted in a fourteenth-century miniature from the Vatican Manasses (Vat. slav. 2, fol. 122).⁸⁰ When the Byzantines placed Marian images on objects with potential military functions, they sought to tap through these representations the source of supernatural power issuing from Mary's virginal motherhood.



THE ICONS AND THEIR NAMES

In addition to the crosses, Marian icons were also carried in battle. The textual evidence suggests that before the eleventh century no specific icon was used exclusively in war. Instead, many different Marian panels, usually the emperors' favorites, were brought on military campaigns. Basil II entered the battle at Abydos in 989 with a sword in one hand and an icon of the Theometor in the other, deeming it the most secure protection against his enemy's onslaught.⁸¹ The iconography of this particular icon has been identified with the image on Basil II's silver coins showing the Theotokos with a medallion of Christ on her chest (fig. 38). Yet, this identification is problematic because the issue was most likely minted at the end of Basil's rule and was thus not related to the earlier events.⁸² The next evidence about a Marian icon brought into battle comes from the reign of Romanos III. He carried a panel of the Panagia in his Syrian campaign in 1030: "the icon of the Theometor appeared to him, which the Roman emperors habitually carry with them in battles as a general and a guardian of all the army."⁸³ Although the text does not specify the iconography of the panel, it has been identified with the "hodegetria" type on Romanos III's silver coins (fig. 39).⁸⁴ It is only in the account about Romanos IV that the icon is named, *Blachernitissa*: "the all-holy icon of the all-hymned Mistress Theotokos *Blachernitissa*, which customarily went out to battle with the pious Roman emperors as an invincible weapon."⁸⁵ The text does not discuss the iconography of the panel.

Although the *Blachernitissa* is not mentioned again in the Komnenian period, a number of Marian icons continued to be used by Byzantine emperors in their military campaigns. John II customarily prayed before a panel of the Theotokos and Child: "His behavior on the battlefield gave witness to his great piety: whenever the Roman phalanxes were hard pressed by the enemy falling furiously upon them, he would look upon the icon of the Mother of God and wailing loudly and gesturing pitifully shed tears hotter than the sweat of bat-

Figure 38 (above right)
Silver coin (*miliaresion*) of Emperors Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine VIII. Obverse: the Virgin holds a medallion with Christ in front of her chest; on the rim: "Theotoke help the rulers"; reverse: "Mother of God, full of glory, he who puts faith in you will never fail in his endeavor." Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore, Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 39 (above left)
Silver coin (*miliaresion*) of Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–34). Obverse: "Virgin All Glorious" and "Mother of God." On the reverse: "He who has placed his hope in thee [Virgin] will prosper in all he does." Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore, Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

tle.⁸⁶ The emotional expression of devotion to the Theometor manifested in front of her icon is seen to have a beneficial effect in triggering Mary's power to protect the Byzantine army. Similarly, icons of the Mother of God are given a place of prominence in the triumphal processions of John II in 1133 and of Manuel in 1167. In both cases an icon of the Theotokos was set on the triumphal chariot.⁸⁷ Yet the identity of these panels is not revealed. Nevertheless, toponymic and poetic names were used to designate the function of these icons. I argue that, along with the *Blachernitissa*, any icon used by the emperor in the context of war could be identified with the qualitative epithets *Akatamachetos* ("invincible") and *Nikopoios* ("victory bringer").

As a toponymic name, *Blachernitissa* only identifies the site where the icon was kept. Since the Blachernai had several miraculous icons, several image types, at least five, are linked with the name *Blachernitissa*: (1) a *deomene* (= orans, "in prayer") Theotokos (fig. 40);⁸⁸ (2) the same in profile (fig. 41);⁸⁹ (3) the Theometor holding the Child in her arms, who in turn embraces his mother by the neck (fig. 42);⁹⁰ (4) Mary *deomene* with a medallion of Christ hovering on her chest (fig. 43);⁹¹ (5) the Theotokos holding a medallion with Christ on her chest, a named icon surviving only in a text.⁹² The last two images were associated with the "usual miracle" at the Blachernai.

Of the five, the solitary figure of the *deomene* Virgin (fig. 40) perhaps records the image depicted after the end of Iconoclasm in the apse of the Blachernai church.⁹³ As mentioned earlier, the same iconographic type was also repeated in the Pharos chapel and the Chrysotriklinos.⁹⁴ The *deomene* image was thus linked with the imperial political ideology of victory. A depiction in the apse mosaic of the church of Hagia Sophia in Kiev, A.D. 1043, conveys how the Blachernai image was perceived (fig. 44).⁹⁵ The Mother of God stands full length; her arms, extended to the sides in prayer, spread open her *maphorion* as a sign of protection. The inscription on the face of the arch, Ps. 45:6 (46:5) reads: "God is in her [the Mother of God's or the city's] midst; she will not be shaken; God will help her when the morning dawns."⁹⁶ The text, paired with the image of the Theotokos, alludes to both the city and the Theometor, who would always be protected by God. A similar representation appears in the imperial monastery Nea Mone on Chios.⁹⁷ In copying the Blachernai original, this apse mosaic draws attention to the military power of Mary. The mosaic program of Nea Mone was intended to restate the standard political theory of legitimacy based on victory.⁹⁸

The same emperor who commissioned the mosaics in Nea Mone also minted coins with the *deomene* Virgin.⁹⁹ Here again attention is drawn to the power of Mary to secure imperial victory. Her image is paired on the reverse with the figure of the emperor standing full length, dressed in military attire, and holding a bare sword in his hand. The concept of Mary as Victoria is man-



Figure 40
Silver coin (*miliaresion*) of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos. The name BLACHERNITISSA runs along the rim of the obverse. On the reverse: "Theotoke protect Constantine the despot, Monomachos." His name, Monomachos ("lone fighter") is linked to the lone figure of the Virgin. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 41 (above left)
Enamel enkolpion (pectoral pendant) of the Virgin, late eleventh century. Basiliek van Onze Lieve Vrouwe, Maastricht.

Figure 42 (above right)
The Virgin Blachernitissa, detail from an icon, Sinai, twelfth century.

Figure 43 (above)
The Virgin Blachernitissa on a lead seal of John, *protoproedros* (holder of a titular position for the lower aristocracy in the Komnenian period) and *epi tes basilikes sakelles* (officer in charge of the inventory of imperial monasteries and their properties), late eleventh century. On the reverse: "Theotoke, help John, *protoproedros* and *epi tes basilikes sakelles*."

ifested not only through the reproduction of the Blachernai apse mosaic but also through the name of the emperor, Monomachos ("lone fighter"), which alludes to the Theometor as *symmachos* ("cofighter," Latin *comes*), a term traditionally identifying Victoria. Unlike Phokas and Tzimiskes, whose great military victories justified their promotion of visual representations of Mary as Victoria, Constantine IX had a weak basis for such a claim (just his name, Monomachos). As a member of the civic aristocracy, he lacked the military record. Yet his avid use of the same visual formulas gave a legitimate veneer to his claim to power (in reality he obtained the throne through marriage to the last scion of the Macedonian dynasty). Constantine's visual propaganda continued to live among his successors: Theodora and Michael VI each employed the same *Blachernitissa* image type.¹⁰⁰

The *Blachernitissa* carried in battle was meant to secure victory for the emperor. On account of this function, the panel could be identified as a *Nikopoios*, meaning "victory bringer." *Nikopoios* is one of a series of poetic or qualitative names that derive from the hymnographic tradition and identify a particular power of the Mother of God.¹⁰¹ André Grabar first argued for the distinction between toponymic and poetic names. A toponymic name identifies the location where an icon was kept.¹⁰² In some cases, the term is clearly linked to a particular image type, such as the *Basiotissa*, from the monastery of ta Basou in Constantinople; this shows the Virgin holding the Child on her



right arm (fig. 45).¹⁰³ In other cases, the toponymic could be applied to a number of icons kept in a specific church, as is the case with the *Blachernitissa*.

The poetic names offer even more flexibility between epithet and iconographic formula.¹⁰⁴ Words such as *Nikopoios*, meaning “victory bringer,” and *Akatamachetos*, meaning “invincible,” written next to any Marian image denote an ideal quality of the Mother of God: her ability to lend help in battle. Qualitative names modify the function of an icon and transform it, in these cases, into an object that can be carried in battle. As such, these terms can appear next to any visual schema.

The term *Nikopoios* designates the established role of Mary as guarantor of imperial victory. It functions as a standard address to the Theotokos herself. The same tradition continues in the later period, as recorded in a twelfth-century poem by Theodore Prodromos: “You [emperor John Komnenos] have as an invincible cofighter in battles, the one who incarnated the Savior and crowned you and placed you on the throne; you have the powerful victory bringer [*Nikopoios*] as a cogeneral.”¹⁰⁵ Mary is the cogeneral, cofighter, the *comes* Victoria known from the Roman imperial tradition. In another poem in the same collection the Theotokos is referred to as “the true victory bringer [*Nikopoios*], exceedingly pure Virgin [*parthenos*].”¹⁰⁶ *Nikopoios* can function independently as an appellation of the Virgin and can be attached to a Marian icon regardless of its iconography.

Scholars, however, have traditionally identified *Nikopoios* with a particular icon depicting Mary holding the Child in front of her chest.¹⁰⁷ Kondakov argued that the panel was brought from the East in the late sixth century, during the reign of Maurice.¹⁰⁸ Yet the only textual evidence supporting the myth of the pre-Iconoclast icon cult is a legend told by Skylitzes in the eleventh century. He describes how an icon allegedly plastered over during Iconoclasm was discovered by Emperor Romanos III.¹⁰⁹ “an icon painted on wood was discovered: a wood panel of the Theotokos carrying our Lord and God in front of her chest.”¹¹⁰ The iconography of this panel has been identified with the image featured on a seal from the second half of the eleventh century. It shows the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ. The name *Nikopoios* is placed next to the representation (fig. 46).¹¹¹ Yet the problem with this interpretation is that the same term also appears with another iconographic schema. It shows the Virgin in full length holding the Child on her left hand and gesturing to him with her right: the “hodegetria” type (fig. 47).¹¹² The divergence in the iconography of these two seals suggests that for the Byzantines the term *Nikopoios* did not designate a particular iconographic type, but could be attached instead to any Marian visual formula.

The quest for a specific *Nikopoios* icon is problematic. Scholars have argued that a panel at San Marco now known as the *Nicopea* was the icon



Figure 44 (opposite)
Mosaic of the Virgin in the apse of Hagia Sophia, Kiev, 1043. Konstantin Starodub/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 45
The Virgin BASIOTISSA on a lead seal of the bishop of Methymne, Michael Bouches, twelfth century. Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 46 (above left)

The Virgin ΝΙΚΟΠΟΙΟΣ on a lead seal of the *proedros* (high-ranking title) and *parakoimomenos* (guardian of the imperial bedchamber, an office usually entrusted to eunuchs) John, second half of the eleventh century. On the back side: "Theotoke, help the *proedros* and *parakoimomenos* John." Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 47 (above right)

The Virgin ΝΙΚΟΠΟΙΟΣ on a lead seal of the *proedros* and judge Niketas, second half of the eleventh century. Inscription on the back side: "Theotoke, help the *proedros* and *epi ton kriseon* [judge] Niketas." Reproduced courtesy of the Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Thomas Whittemore. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

existence of a *Nikopoios* icon but discuss instead a chapel dedicated to the Theotokos "Victory Bringer" in the Blachernai palace. The Hodegetria icon was brought here during its annual sojourns in the imperial residence in the Late Byzantine period.¹¹⁵

Along with *Nikopoios*, the name *Akatamachetos* ("invincible") addresses the Virgin Mary's power in war. This term was inscribed on the silver revetment of a Marian icon belonging to the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos. The poem reads: "O, Monomachos, fight having me, the invincible one, as a cofighter in the fights" (Τὴν ἀκαταμάχητον, ὦ Μονομάχε, ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἔχων με σύμμαχον μάχου).¹¹⁶ The Greek text is rhythmically structured on words whose root is μάχη, meaning "fight." It is a pun on the family name Monomachos, the "Lone Fighter," which he associates with the Virgin as Victoria; she is the *symmachos* (Latin *comes*, "cofighter," a traditional epithet of Victoria). Constantine IX based all his claims to legitimate power on this name, Monomachos, for he lacked both *porphyrogennetos* birth and military victories. The only extant example of an icon bearing the name *Akatamachetos* is a fourteenth-century panel in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (fig. 49).¹¹⁷ The term is written on the silver revetment. The panel shows the Theomator cradling in her right hand the reclining infant Christ. Her slightly tilted head and gesturing and praying hand direct the viewer's gaze to the Child and his blessing hand.¹¹⁸

Byzantine emperors carried in war (fig. 48).¹¹³ It features Mary with the Child in her arms set in front of her chest. She places one hand on the infant's shoulder, and the other on his thigh. No medallion separates the infant from his mother. No Greek words are inscribed in the field. The word *Nicopea* was only associated with the panel in the sixteenth century, during the Counter-Reformation. At that point the object was identified with the panel captured by the Crusaders in 1204, as recorded by Villehardouin.¹¹⁴ So the name *Nicopea* for the icon in San Marco has no authentic Byzantine provenance.

Similarly, two excerpts from Gregoras and Pseudo-Kodinos, written in the fourteenth century, do not record the



Figure 48

Icon of the Virgin and Child, Venice, San Marco, possibly twelfth century. Procuratoria di San Marco, Basilica of San Marco, Venice.

THE ICONS AND THEIR FRAMES

Even though Mary is never depicted donning a cuirass or brandishing a sword, she was perceived by the Byzantines as the supreme military general. Many of her icons are referred to as "generals of the army." The terms used to describe the panels include "guard and general," "invincible cogeneral," "invincible ally," "invincible cogeneral of the emperor": φύλαξ καὶ στρατηγός,¹¹⁹ συστρατήγητις ἄμαχος,¹²⁰ ἀπρόσμαχος σύμμαχος, ἀκαταγωνίστος συστράτηγος τῷ βασιλεῖ.¹²¹ The military purposes of these panels were signified via qualitative names inscribed



Figure 49
Icon of the Virgin
AKATAMACHETOS ("invincible")
and Child, fourteenth century.
Byzantine Museum, Athens.

on the icons and via depiction of attendant military saints, who drew attention to Mary's powers in war.

The Mother of God's command over the military saints is manifested in the visions recorded by Leo the Deacon and Choniates discussed earlier on. These depict Mary as a general who fights the enemy by sending her trusted warriors into battle. It is easy to imagine the dialogue reported by Choniates taking place in front of an icon of the Virgin Mary enframed by military saints, who were summoned by an invisible speaker. But when did these icons appear?

The composition showing the Theotokos surrounded by military saints originates from the scenes of the Deesis depicted in the art of the court from the second half of the tenth century. The ivory triptych at Palazzo Venezia offers the earliest extant example (figs. 50, 51, 52).¹²² Christ stands in the center and receives the intercession of Saint John the Baptist and the

Theotokos. Warrior saints dressed in civilian garb appear in the wings. The only military elements are the swords in the hands of Saint Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates. Yet the text compensates for any visual scruple; the inscriptions clearly proclaim the ideology of imperial military victory:

[left wing:]

An emperor had the four martyrs sculpted.
With them he puts to flight the enemies by storm.¹²³

[center:]

While the hand and the chisel were at a loss to depict the image of Christ,
Christ was teaching and giving breath [life to the image].
For he speaks to [his] mother and the Prodigios.
And as if he were sending out his disciples, he says:
Release Constantine from all illness,
and I will subject to him all powers.¹²⁴



[right wing:]

Here is the foursome of the martyrs
who decorate the crown with the four virtues.¹²⁵

The text draws attention to victory granted by God.¹²⁶ The "speaking" image of Christ sends out his saints to secure the health and victory of the emperor, thus offering a visual expression of the Byzantine imperial ideology.

Two later ivory triptychs at the Vatican and the Louvre adapt the same composition and idea, but offer a clearer pictorial rendition of the theme of imperial victory.¹²⁷ On the object at the Louvre (known as the Harbaville triptych, figs. 53, 54), Christ, instead of standing, now sits on a bejeweled throne, while the warrior saints have donned military attire and clutch weapons. The Deesis at the center expresses in a pictorial form the idea that victory is given by Christ through the intercession of the Panagia and John the Baptist. The saints are sent out to execute the orders.

Another manifestation of the same idea is offered by a miniature in the Menologion of Basil II, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Gr. 17, fol. 3 (fig. 55).¹²⁸

Figure 50
Ivory triptych with the Deesis
and five apostles at the center,
and warrior and healer saints in
the wings, most likely a
commission for Emperor
Constantine VII
Porphyrogenetos (945–59).
Palazzo Venezia, Rome. Left
wing: Saints Theodore Teron,
Eustathios (?), Prokopios, and
Arethas. Right wing: Theodore
Stratelates, Georgios,
Demetrios, and Eustratios.
Archivio fotografico
soprintendenza speciale per il
Polo museale romano.

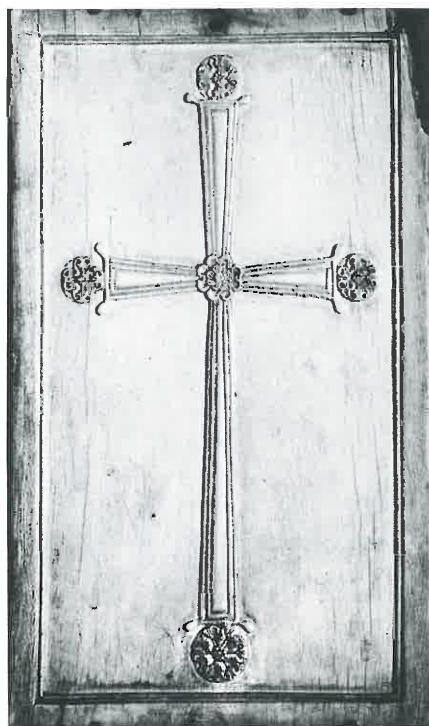


Figure 51
Ivory triptych, back side,
showing the victorious cross,
mid-tenth century, Palazzo
Venezia, Rome. Archivio
fotografico soprintendenza
speciale per il Polo museale
romano.



Figure 52
Ivory triptych, back side, wings,
mid-tenth century, Palazzo
Venezia, Rome. On the left wing:
church fathers Basil, Gregory the
Theologian [of Nazianzos],
Gregory the Miracle-Worker, and
Saint Severianos, with the words
“A martyr joined with three
priests signifies the august
trinity [Deesis].” On the right
wing: the church father John
Chrysostomos with Saints
Clement of Ankyra, Agatonikos,
and Nikolaos, with the words
“Three priests with one
intercessory prayer, and a
martyr in order to bend the
world to the crown.” The crown
evoked in the inscription in the
wings of the triptych is linked to
the image of the cross (fig. 51) in
the central panel; thus the
standard Byzantine concept of
imperial legitimacy based on
military victory is once again
configured in images and words.
Archivio fotografico
soprintendenza speciale per il
Polo museale romano.

It features the emperor as a chief general; he is crowned by Christ, armed by the angels, surrounded by military saints (Theodore, Demetrios, (?) on the left; George, Prokopios, Merkourios on the right), and venerated by his vanquished enemies. Their Byzantine courtier costumes identify them as the *dynatoi* (“powerful”: members of the military, land-owning elite). The poem accompanying the image finishes with these words: “The martyrs are his allies, for he is their friend. They smite [his enemies] who are lying at his feet.”¹²⁹ The miniature represents the emperor’s triumph. He has received power and victory from God, help from the military saints, and obeisance from the Byzantine *dynatoi*.

Starting with the late tenth century, a tendency emerges in Byzantine art to depict the emperor, the archangel Michael, and the warrior saints in more expressly military garb.¹³⁰ This development is already manifested in the art

Figure 53
Harbaville ivory triptych, late
tenth/eleventh century (?). In
the wings are the warrior saints
Theodore Teron, Theodore
Stratelates, George, and
Eustathios dressed in military
garb with spears and swords.
Their counterparts below wear
courtier’s costumes. The warrior
saint Merkourios, with raised
spear, and the healer saint
Panteleimon, with his medical
box, in medallions at the ends,
pair victory with health. Erich
Lessing/Art Resource, New York.



Figure 54

Harbaville triptych, back side, late tenth/eleventh century. As a variation on the Palazzo Venezia model, the cross of Victory in the center is more elaborately decorated and set within a paradisiacal landscape: among the cypress trees, lush greenery, and flowers, four birds, a fox, a lion, and a rabbit dwell. Roses and flowers animate the ground for the words, which appear in the starry sky: "In this be victorious." These words link the sign of the cross to imperial victory. The wings present an additional register of saints as bust figures set in medallions. Two of them, Saints Kosmas and Damianos, are healer saints carrying their medical boxes. Their presence visually enforces the message of health and protection. Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York.

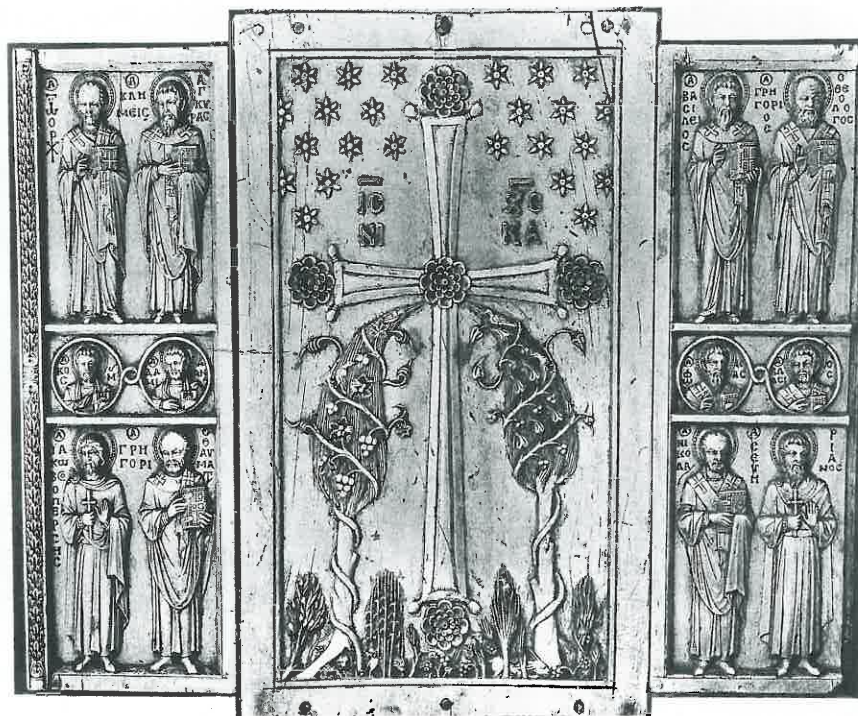


Figure 55 (opposite)

Menologion of Emperor Basil II, early eleventh century, Venice, Bibl. Marc. Cod. Gr. 17, fol. 3. Basil's supreme power is advertised by the inscription flanking his body, "Basil in Christ pious emperor of the Romans," and by the epigram on the facing folio, 2v: "A strange marvel is to be seen here. From Heaven, Christ, in his life-bringing right, extends the crown, the symbol of power, to Basil the pious mighty ruler. Below are the foremost [two] of the incorporeal beings; one of them has taken [the crown], brought it down, and is joyfully crowning the [emperor]; the other, adding victories to the [symbol of power], is placing the sword, a weapon that frightens the enemies away, in the ruler's hand. The martyrs are his allies, for he is their friend. They smite [his enemies], who are lying at his feet" (tr. I. Sevčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," 272). Werner Forman Archive/Art Resource, New York.

surviving from the provinces such as Cappadocia.¹³¹ As the empire's first line of defense, most vulnerable to encroachment from hostile or ambitious neighbors, the region might have fostered this development of militarized depictions of soldier saints.¹³² At the same time, the emergence of this militaristic pictorial tradition could be linked to the intensification of the imperial victory ideology promoted by the emperor-generals Phokas and Tzimiskes.¹³³ Images of saints dressed in scale armor, holding spears and shields, appear in tenth-century churches such as the so-called Great Pigeon House in Çavusin, dated to 964–65, and Tokali Kilise.¹³⁴ In the former, the Forty Martyrs wear military attire and function together with Saint Hieron as personal, familial, and communal protectors securing the borders against foreign threat.¹³⁵

The depictions of the archangel Michael, the commander of the Heavenly Host, also tend to use the military attire over the traditional civilian costume.¹³⁶ A twelfth-century enamel icon from the treasury of San Marco displays the winged general in a mail cuirass and with a *globus cruciger* in one hand. He summons the multitude of military saints with his raised sword (fig. 56).¹³⁷ The warriors are depicted in pairs on the frame surrounding the portrait of the general. They are all dressed in metal cuirasses and cloaks, and hold spears and shields in hand.





Figure 56 (opposite)
Enamel icon of Archangel Michael, dressed as a general, holding a raised sword and a *globus cruciger*, late eleventh–twelfth centuries. Saints Theodore Stratelates and Theodore Teron, Prokopios and Georgios, Demetrios and Nestorios, Eustathios and Merkourios, appear on the frame. Cameraphoto/Art Resource, New York.



Figure 57
Encaustic icon of the Virgin with angels and Saints Theodore and George, sixth century, monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. Mary's imperial presence is expressed by the gilded throne on which she sits and the courtly dressed saints flanking her. The civic attire of the two warrior saints and the crosses they hold in their hands emphasize their martyrdom and aristocratic status. It is only in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries that these saints start to be forcefully depicted as warriors ready to enter battle. Art Resource/New York.

The central figure steps onto the imperial *suppedaneum* and commands the host of warrior saints to subdue the enemies. It is this composition that is gradually adapted for the concept of the Theotokos as *strategos*. Among the earliest extant examples is the Sinai icon featuring the Virgin Mary flanked by Saints Theodore and Demetrios.¹³⁸ The soldier saints are dressed like courtiers (fig. 57). Their civilian garb and courtly bearing emphasize the regal connotations of the image: a ceremonial presentation of the enthroned Theomator and Child. A similar composition is used in a number of tenth-century ivory triptychs.¹³⁹ These objects were intended for private devotion and were easily transportable.¹⁴⁰ Their images offered a pictorial expression of intercession and protection. An example from the Walters Art Museum features the Virgin "hodegetria" type on the central panel, and the military saints Theodore, George, Prokopios, and Demetrios, dressed in civilian garb, appear in the wings (fig. 58).

Over time, the image of the Mother of God does not in itself change, but the soldier saints, who discard their courtier's robes for military attire and take up weapons in their hands, transform the way in which the figure of the Theotokos is perceived in the context of war and imperial power. An ivory triptych at the British Museum offers a good example (fig. 59).¹⁴¹ The Virgin of the "hodegetria" type stands underneath a canopy. The side wings display the archangels Michael and Gabriel, Saints Nikolaos and John Chrysostomos, and the warriors Theodore and George. Unlike the Walters triptych discussed ear-

Figure 58
Ivory triptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints Nikolaos and George on the left wing, Prokopios and Demetrios on the right, late tenth–eleventh centuries (?). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



lier, on which Saints George and Theodore are depicted in civilian garb, the British Museum ivory shows them in mail cuirass and military chlamys, with spears and swords in their hands. By clutching the weapons in their hands, these two figures show that they intercede through their action in battle. The warrior saints associate ideas of military power and protection with the Mother of God. Although no information survives about the patron or the context of production of this triptych, its pictorial program suggests an imperial patronage. A jeweled crown hangs from the apex of a decorative arch on the back side of the central panel. Two slender crosses appear in the wings. The crown and the crosses are meant to be read as state symbols expressing the imperial ideology of victory.

The message of imperial victory conveyed through the image of Mary surrounded by soldier saints is also manifested in the mosaic program of the Nea Mone monastery in Chios, founded by Constantine IX Monomachos in the

Figure 59
Ivory triptych of the Virgin and Child, eleventh century (?). The arrangement of the interceding figures on the wings shows how supplication develops from the archangels, as the witnesses of the Incarnation, to the church fathers, who hold the Logos as the book, and finally to the warrior saints, who manifest the divine presence through their action and victory. The British Museum.

mid-eleventh century.¹⁴² The mosaics in the dome of the inner narthex show the Mother of God surrounded not by the customary prophets, patriarchs, and angels but also by eight martyrs, four of whom are warrior saints: Theodore Stratelates, Orestes, Sergios, and Bacchos (figs. 60, 61, 62).¹⁴³ Each of them holds a weapon in both hands. Saint Theodore Stratelates wears a mail cuirass and holds a shield and a spear. Saint Orestes is also in scale armor and grips a scepter and a sword. Saint Sergios and Bacchos wear civilian tunics, but each holds a scepter and a sword. Their hands make no intercessory gesture, nor do the saints carry the cross as a sign of martyrdom; instead, they now clutch weapons. The pairing of warrior saints with Mary offers a visual expression of the concept of the Theometor as general of the celestial army. The military attributes and attire of her entourage bolster this idea.¹⁴⁴

Constantine IX Monomachos built Nea Mone as a thanksgiving gift to the monks who, when he was still an exiled nobleman, prophesied his ascension to the throne.¹⁴⁵ He seems to have been obsessed with the idea of legitimacy based on victory, an obsession that reflected, however obscurely, the name he carried, Monomachos, "the Lone Fighter." As mentioned in connection with his icon

Figure 60
Mosaic in the dome of the inner narthex, Nea Mone, Chios, 1042–55. The Virgin is with the warrior saints Sergios, Theodore Stratelates, and Bacchos and the martyrs Orestes, Mardarios, Eugenios, Auxentios, and Eustrathios. Photographic Archive of the Benaki Museum, with permission of the Third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Nea Mone, Chios.



of the *Akatamachetos* and his use of the *Blachernitissa* images on his coins and the apse mosaic in Nea Mone, Constantine IX enlisted the Theotokos as his *symmachos* (= Latin *comes*, or "cofighter," a traditional epithet of Victoria). His use of the traditional imperial ideology of victory is also revealed in the way he dedicated his funerary monastery in Constantinople to the warrior saint George.¹⁴⁶ Monomachos's excessive pictorial propaganda was meant to hide what he lacked: *porphyrogennetos* birth and military victories, the two crucial elements in the Byzantine political theory of imperial power.

The Byzantine images of Mary as Victoria surrounded by warrior saints find a following also outside the borders of Byzantium. A number of examples survive from Georgia and Svaneti.¹⁴⁷ Out of the 161 icons published by Čubinašvili, 69 feature military saints (57 of those show the warrior saint as the main figure; 12 depict military saints in the frames). Two tenth-century silver-gilt icons feature the enthroned Mother and Child flanked by Saints George and Theodore (fig. 63).¹⁴⁸ The eleventh-century metal panel from Labečina offers another example (fig. 64).¹⁴⁹ In the latter the Theometor sits on an elaborate throne covered with finely woven cloth and an embroidered seat cushion. With one hand on Christ's shoulder and the other on his thigh, the Virgin holds the Child on her lap and presents him to the viewer. The same frontality

Figure 61 (above left)
Mosaic in the dome of the inner narthex, Nea Mone, Chios, 1042–55, detail, Saint Theodore Stratelates ("the general"). Photographic Archive of the Benaki Museum, with permission of the Third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Nea Mone, Chios.

Figure 62 (above right)
Mosaic in the dome of the inner narthex, Nea Mone, Chios, 1042–55, detail, Saint Bacchos. Although dressed in courtier's robes and holding a scepter, Bacchos is also characterized as a soldier saint by the sword he grasps in his other hand. Third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Nea Mone, Chios.

Figure 63

Metal triptych, in the central panel the enthroned Virgin and Child, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and Peter and Paul; in the wings the warrior saints George and Theodore, tenth century, Cukuli, Georgia. Lower frame: Christ flanked by two crucifixes and two medallions showing warrior saints spearing an enemy. The combination of images—the Mother and Child, the blessing adult Christ and the Crucifixion—enables a succinct presentation of salvation. Only through his death on the cross could the incarnate Christ save humanity. The concept of sacrifice is linked to victory: the image of the cross in the pediment and the warrior saints who stand ready for or already in the midst of battle.



Figure 64 (opposite)

Metal icon of the enthroned Virgin and Child; on the frame, the warrior saints (Theodore, George, and Demetrios), Saint John the Baptist, and the archangels, eleventh century, Labečina, Georgia. The inscription, set in the lower frame, asks for a remission of sins.

and rigidity characterize the portrait of John the Baptist on the right, the two archangels on the sides, and the three military saints, Theodore, George, and Demetrios, at the bottom.¹⁵⁰ The icon was commissioned by the feudal lord Vardan and the *eristavi*, or regional governor, Jinjih.¹⁵¹ As a regional governor, Jinjih was also the general of the local armies. It is likely that by commissioning this icon the patron sought the protection and mercy of the Theometor amplified by the power of the warrior saints.

Whether war was understood as a battle against mortal enemies or against the ineffable powers of evil, the Mother of God was perceived to act like a general, dispatching her trusted soldiers to the field. One devotional panel with such a personal depiction is the thirteenth-century Seti triptych from Svaneti (fig. 65),¹⁵² which belonged to a local Georgian lord. When opened, it measures 91 × 58 cm. The Mother and Child stand in the central panel. The two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, flank them. Directly above the inserted icon appears the head of the mature Christ, while below are two women saints, Marina and Barbara.¹⁵³ The wings of the triptych feature the military saints: Theodore Teron and George on the left wing, and Saint Demetrios (?) and Theodore Stratelates on the right. A cherubim is depicted in the upper part of each wing. The inscription at the lower border of the central plaque reads: "Holy Queen, Mother of God, Who carried God, intercede before your Son





Figure 65
The Seti triptych, thirteenth
century, Svaneti, Georgia.
Georgia State Art Museum,
Tbilisi.

and Our Lord for the souls of Vakhtang and Marina [for whom] their [sons adorned] your image. Vardan Inasaridze and his brothers Inasar, Sagir, Nikolaos, Beshken. [Have mercy, Amen].¹⁵⁴ The patrons, the family of the Inasaridze, were the feudal lords of Lečkumi and the generals of their local armies.¹⁵⁵ Here the donors seek the protection of the Theometor and her trusted military saints.

Along with the Georgian examples, two Byzantine icons from the thirteenth century depict the Theotokos with warrior saints in military garb: a processional icon (99.8 × 75.5 cm) from Cyprus featuring the Virgin and Child on the front and Saint James the Persian on the back,¹⁵⁶ and a diptych with the Panagia and Child and Saint Prokopios from Sinai, ca. 1280.¹⁵⁷ In addition, there are two fourteenth-century steatites at the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos.¹⁵⁸ One of them is inserted into a sixteenth-century painted wood panel.¹⁵⁹ The Virgin and Child, identified with the name Hodegetria, are depicted on the obverse, while the military saints George, Demetrios, Theodore Teron, Prokopios, Merkourios (?), and Nestor appear on the

reverse. All on horseback, they brandish raised swords or spears and wear mail cuirasses. The concept of victory and power evoked through the military saints is paired with the special image of the Virgin Hodegetria.¹⁶⁰ By alluding to the power of the famous original and enhancing it with the might of the soldier saints, the small steatite icon becomes a protector in worldly battles.

The Theometor is always depicted as a mother holding the Child in her arms, or as a sole figure offering her intercession. The images thus focus on the source of Mary's power: her virginal motherhood. Her depiction as mother remains constant. The military theme is introduced by the adjoining figures of warrior saints. By donning cuirasses and holding weapons, these representations of saints become more militarized in the second half of the tenth century. The new depiction of warrior saints could be a result of the rise of emperor-generals such as Phokas and Tzimiskes, who pumped up the imperial ideology of victory to promote their claim to legitimacy in the second half of the tenth century. Mary and her military entourage secured victory for the ruler and vouched for his legitimacy. It is this imperial concept of victory that fostered the development of the visual composition of the Theotokos surrounded by warrior saints dressed in military garb. The large number of surviving icons from as early as the late tenth century suggests that association of the idea of imperial triumph with Marian icons bearing militarized warrior saints in the frames had taken hold. The same composition inspired a creative adaptation of the motif in the outposts of the empire and the neighboring states.

SELFLESS LOVE

In addition to her role in commanding the troops and bringing victory, the virginal Mother also conveys a model of selfless sacrifice, necessary for the success of any army.

The "hodegetria" type, featured on objects carried in battle, conveys the idea of victory through the image of the virginal mother. Similarly, the visual type presents the notion of sacrifice, expressed in the way the Theometor, having unlocked her embrace, offers her Child to the world (fig. 58). The gesture overcomes the instinct of preservation and care. The so-called Pelagonitissa iconographic type, originating in Komnenian art, displays a development of this idea. It features the Mother offering her infant, and the Child proleptically offering his life (figs. 66, 67, 69).¹⁶¹ When this particular visual schema was placed in a military context, it invoked the voluntary sacrifice and selfless love exacted from both the soldiers and their mothers.

One of the best examples comes from the iconostasis of the church at Staro Nagoričino, Macedonia (figs. 67, 69). The building was restored by the Serbian king Milutin (1282–1321) and commemorated his victory over the Turks in



1312.¹⁶² The dedication reflects these military associations: it is offered to Saint George, with the two names of Tropaiophoros, meaning the “Bringer of Victory,”¹⁶³ and Diasoritis, “Savior,” also referring to his holy shrine (fig. 68). Saint George, in a metal breastplate, holds a raised sword in one hand and a lance and a shield in the other. His militant stance and readiness for battle is contrasted with the loving tenderness of the Theotokos, lifting the Child to kiss him, represented on the other end of the iconostasis (fig. 69).¹⁶⁴

The image of Christ has been interpreted as representing the “playful” Child.¹⁶⁵ Yet it conveys just the opposite: a proleptic vision of his Crucifixion.¹⁶⁶ The twisted body of the Child—bare legs, exposed neck, hanging head, and hands pushing in opposite directions—alludes to the pain and suffering of the Crucifixion. This is no longer the composed, happy Child in his Mother’s embrace, but an anxious body. The proleptic suffering, suggested by the twisted figure, conveys in a visual form an idea expressed in Byzantine hymns: the blood and suffering of Christ, dispensed by the Panagia, are prerequisite for the salvation of humankind: “Oh, pure one [the Virgin], do not overlook me [the sinful human], struck and wounded by the sword of desire, but cure me with the spear and blood of your crucified Son and Lord.”¹⁶⁷ The plea reveals that the salvation of humanity depends on the suffering and sacrifice of Christ, evoked through the image of the spear and the blood.

Figure 66 (opposite)
Painted icon of the Virgin and Child, monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, thirteenth century. Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

Figure 67 (above)
Iconostasis in the church of the Theotokos at Staro Nagoričino, 1316–18. At the one end, the icon of the Virgin with Christ; at the other, Saint George. While the figures of the Mother and Child curve into each other, Saint George is upright and erect; the love and sacrifice presented on one end are juxtaposed with victory on the other. Miodrag Marković.



Figure 68 (above left)
Proskynesis icon (icon intended to receive the prayers of the faithful, usually set on the iconostasis, in this case directly painted on the masonry screen) of Saint George in the church of the Virgin at Staro Nagoričino, 1316–18. Miodrag Marković.

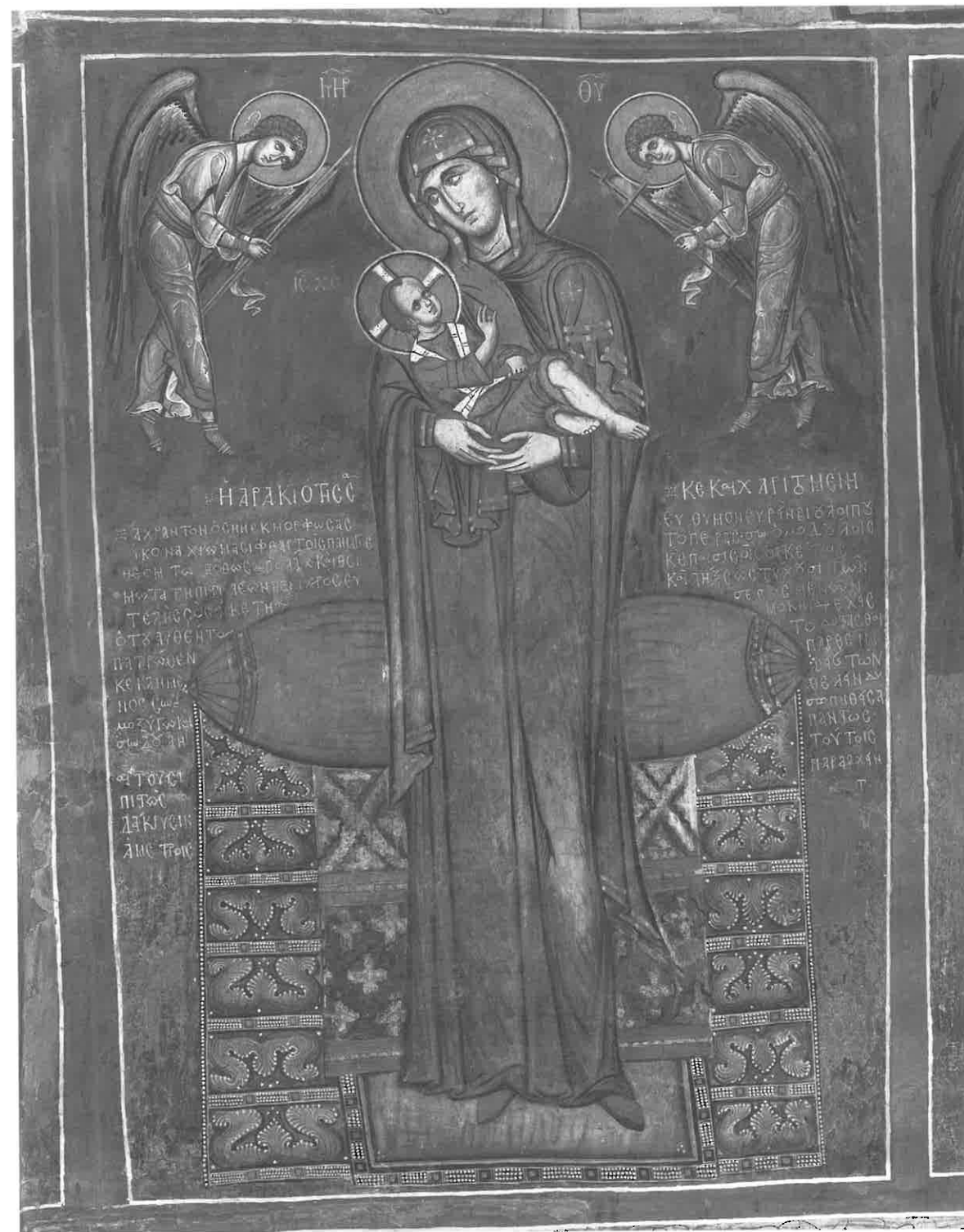


Figure 69 (above right)
Proskynesis icon of the Virgin and Child, church of the Virgin at Staro Nagoričino, 1316–18. Mary is identified with the name PELAGONITISSA, meaning "from the region of Pelagonia." Miodrag Marković.

The facial expressions heighten the emotional intensity.¹⁶⁸ The loving Mother casts a gaze of sorrow, while the Child offers a composed and serene look that contrasts with the tension in his body. Oppositions of body and facial expression, maternal love and readiness for sacrifice, convey the drama and depth of the suffering. The image of the Virgin and Child offers a view of human salvation achieved through the double sacrifice of mother and infant. As expressed in her gesturing free hand, Mary gives away her beloved Child, while she suppresses her grief as a mother. At the same time, the Christ gives up his life.

The image of love and sacrifice is juxtaposed on the iconostasis of the church at Staro Nagoričino to that of the victorious warrior saint (fig. 68). In a way both icons represent the idea of triumph: in one case victory is understood as a military victory, expressed by the image of the soldier saint; in the other, as a double sacrifice of the Mother and the Son. Military power is thus linked to sacrifice.

The icon of the Panagia and Child called *Akatamachetos* also employs Paschal symbolism (fig. 49).¹⁶⁹ The Child is in a semireclining position that alludes to sleep and death. His mother offers his body to the viewer and addresses a prayer to her infant. The Passion symbolism encoded in the semirecumbent pose of the Child is better revealed in an iconographically similar scene from the late twelfth century at Lagoudera (fig. 70).¹⁷⁰ Here the central figures of the Mother and Child are flanked by two angels holding the instruments of the Crucifixion: the cross and the spears. Their presence enhances the Paschal symbolism of the image. If we return to the icon of the *Akatamachetos*,



then the notion of the Passion, evoked by the semirecumbent Christ Child and the expression of mourning on the face of his Mother, are meant to be perceived together with the military functions of the image, introduced by the poetic name.

The sacrifice of Christ and his martyrs is sometimes offered as a model through which to comprehend and esteem the death of soldiers in war, as revealed in the prayer for dead soldiers.¹⁷¹ The faithful beseech Christ to give repose to the soldiers who have died fighting in his name. Their sacrifice is linked to Christ's Passion on the cross: "By washing them in the bath of your blood, cleanse your most noble warriors, who have thrown themselves vigorously against your enemies and have been cast into bonds for your sake."¹⁷² The tenth-century date of this text confirms that the emperor Phokas tried to promote the concept of "Holy War." His attempt failed, yet the notion of the soldier as martyr lingers in Byzantium.

The same idea of heroic and redeeming sacrifice is manifested in the enamel enkolpion of Saint Demetrios at the British Museum, dated to the twelfth or the thirteenth century (figs. 71, 72). It features Saint Demetrios on the obverse (now lost) and Saint George with a raised sword on the reverse side; inside, an image of Saint Demetrios lying in his tomb (fig. 72)—for the enkolpion holds drops of the myrrh exuded from his tomb. The image of the warrior saint George and the presence of the myrrh convey the idea of protection and sacrifice. The inscription reads: "Being anointed with your blood and myrrh" (on the front side), "he [the donor] prays to have you as a fervent guardian in battles" (on the side of Saint George).¹⁷³ The wearer is thus "christened" in the blood, understood as the sacrifice of Saint Demetrios.

Death on the field is extolled as a heroic act; this is how the idea of sacrifice is made appealing. The same strategy is employed in the commemorative service for dead soldiers. It never touches on the topic of the Theometor's mourning for her dead Son. The text carefully evades the subject. This approach reflects a conscious choice not to mourn the dead but to glorify their deeds instead. By employing this strategy, the text argues for the importance and worthiness of the sacrifice of the soldiers and their mothers for the well-being of the state.¹⁷⁴ The tenth-century commemorative service is the only known example, and it is unclear how this genre developed in the later period. Yet the images such as the icons at Staro Nagoričino seem to confirm the idea that the Mother willingly offers her Child for the salvation of humankind.

By presenting an ideal through which war could be perceived, the images of the Mother and Child reconciled the faithful with painful reality. War had a growing presence in Byzantium. This fact is captured in the words of the

Figure 70 (previous page)

Fresco of the Virgin and Child flanked by angels who bring the cross and spears as symbols of the Passion, Arakou, Cyprus, ca. 1192. Christ's Passion is also indirectly manifested in his semireclining pose, naked feet, and white sash wrapped crosswise around his chest. The form of his body has also been compared to the liturgical spoon with which the Eucharist, or sacrificial body, is offered to the faithful. Dedicatory inscription: "All Holy Theometor, Leo, your poor and insignificant servant, son of Authentos, the one who formed your image with perishable colors, with much desire and burning faith, and his wife and your coservant Maria, and their beseeching children, implore you piously with infinite tears to find a fortunate place at the end of their days, and to be among the number of the saved. For only you are able to receive [blessing, response from Christ], O Virgin of the beseeching, having been completely won over [by the faithful] to want to furnish desired salvation for them." Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.



eleventh-century general Gregory Pakourianos: "So, if I say that seldom did any of my relations and those who served me with pious devotion die a natural death in his own bed, I will in no way be lying. For all of them shed their own blood by the sword and at the hands of the enemies of the divine cross and the Roman empire."¹⁷⁵ The imperial idea of Victoria conveyed through the figure of Mary gradually spread. Mary as the cofighter (*symmachos*) was no longer understood in the exclusively imperial terms of Victoria, but as the universal intercessor on behalf of humankind: "I do not know any other cofighter on earth, or protection in dangers, or invincible warrior in distress, but you, all pure Theotokos! Whence I fall on my knees and cry out to you, Mistress of the word, be always my guard."¹⁷⁶

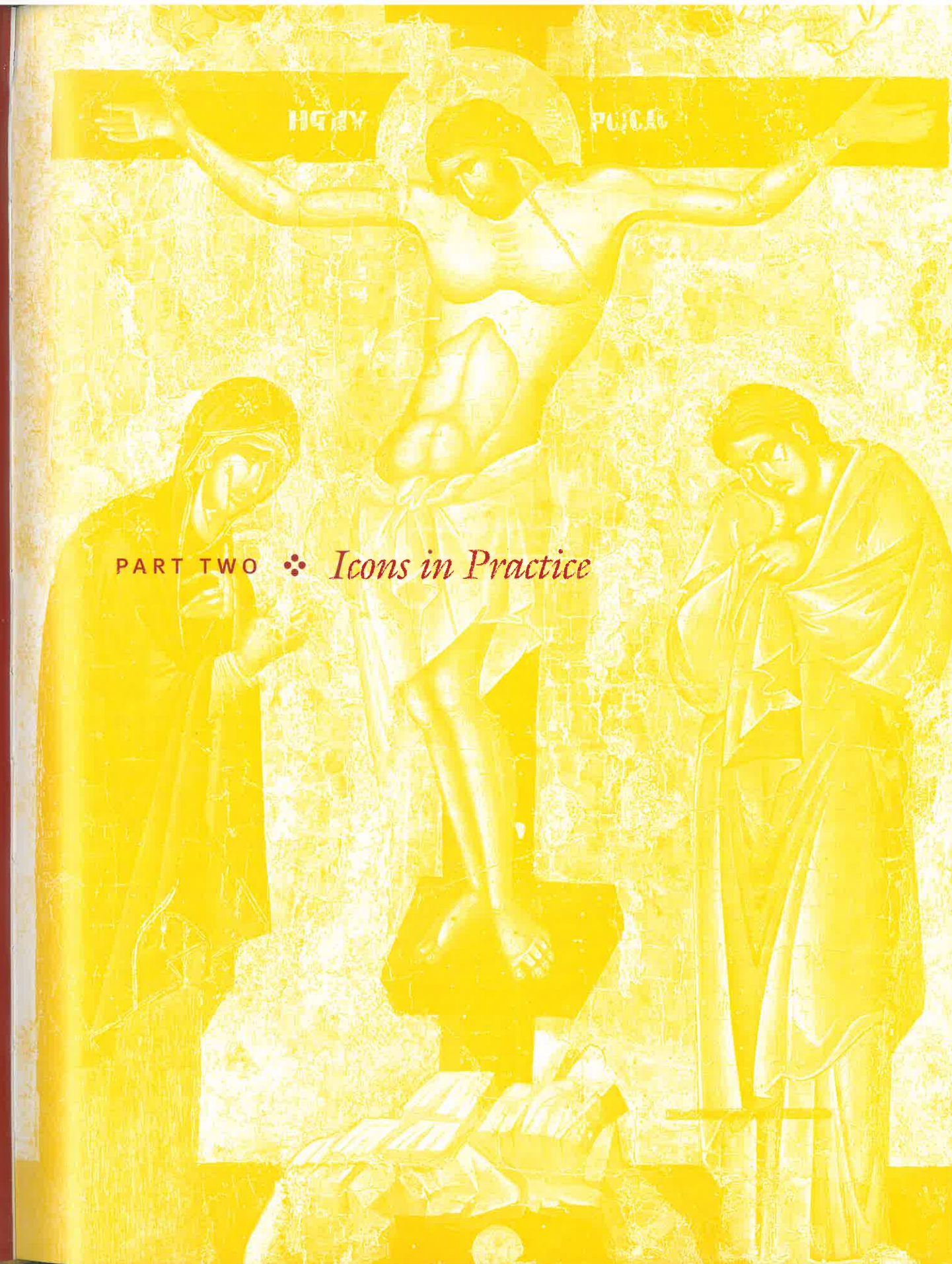
Figure 71 (above left)

Enamel enkolpion of Saint Demetrios, twelfth–thirteenth centuries, inner side. The British Museum.

Figure 72 (above right)

Enamel enkolpion of Saint Demetrios, twelfth–thirteenth centuries, back side. Saint George *en buste* grasps a bared sword; his eyes, turned to the left, demand that the viewer flip the object and look again at the image of Saint Demetrios on the front side. The turned gaze also directs the attention to the inscription and the bared sword. The British Museum.

PART TWO ❖ *Icons in Practice*



The following three chapters focus on the sanctuaries of the Blachernai, Hodegon, and Pantokrator monasteries in Constantinople in the period from the late tenth to the early twelfth century (fig. 1). The Blachernai and the Hodegon were both dedicated to the Theotokos. The former was among the oldest Marian foundations in the city and boasted of a powerful array of relics. The Hodegon, by contrast, was a relatively new monastery that came to prominence only after Iconoclasm. It did not originally have relics, so it seized on the opportunity to promote its public image through new means: miraculous icons. The Hodegetria ("she who leads the way") became the public face of the monastery. It was carried in weekly processions on Tuesdays. These ceremonies attracted large crowds and elevated the monastery among the three most prominent Marian sites in the city. It is likely that the Hodegon introduced this model of icon-centered processions in Constantinople.

The Blachernai followed in the Hodegon's steps. It already had an established weekly procession founded in the sixth century: the Friday *presbeia*, which included a vigil, or *agrypnia*, and a *litania* from the Blachernai to the Chalkoprateia.¹ This ritual was modeled after a procession and vigil in Jerusalem that took place on Fridays and moved from the Holy Sion to Gethsemane. After the period of Iconoclasm and toward the end of the

tenth century, the Blachernai promoted a special icon known only as the *signon tes presbeias* ("the processional panel of the *presbeia*"), to be carried during the weekly *presbeia*. Similarly, another miraculous image became the center of a new ritual also taking place on Fridays: the "usual miracle." The ceremony involved a curtain that miraculously lifted before an icon of the Theomator. This new weekly event was meant to rehabilitate the Blachernai's preeminence, which was seriously challenged by the Hodegon.

A third monastery, however, won this competition between old and new sanctuaries: the Pantokrator, dedicated not to the Theotokos but to Christ "Ruler of All/Everything." The Komnenoi built it as their imperial funerary monastery in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The founder, Emperor John II Komnenos, established novel commemorative services that capitalized upon icon processions. For the weekly public rituals, John II requested that the *signon tes presbeias* of the Blachernai be detoured and made to stop at the Pantokrator before it continued on its regular route to the Chalkoprateia. For the annual commemoration, the emperor requested the Hodegetria icon. The Komnenoi thus appropriated both the Blachernai and Hodegon panels and processions for their own benefit and thereby ensured lasting public support for their dynasty.²



The Hodegetria Icon and Its Tuesday Procession

4

Many of the Marian images carried into battle display the so-called “hodegetria” type: the Theometor holding the Child in her left arm and gesturing toward Him with her right hand (figs. 34, 35, 37, 59). The iconographic formula reproduces a famous prototype: the miraculous icon of the Hodegetria kept at the Hodegon monastery of Constantinople, situated next to the Great Palace on the eastern tip of the city, overlooking the Bosphoros (fig. 1). By the eleventh century this panel was linked to the Avar memory and integrated into the annual Akathistos rituals, as discussed in the earlier chapters. In the twelfth century the Hodegetria also became the focus of the annual imperial commemorative services at the Pantokrator monastery (a ceremony that will be explored in the last chapter of this book). The Hodegetria thus became the most prominent panel in the public life of Constantinople. An understanding of the importance of this icon requires an understanding of the origins and development of the icon’s weekly procession. The Hodegetria was carried each Tuesday from the Hodegon through the streets of the city and placed at the altar of a different church for the celebration of Mass. The rising prominence of the Hodegetria also stimulated the development of a written tradition about the origins and life of the icon. The myths strengthened the icon’s power by establishing apostolic and imperial connections. According to the written tradition, the Hodegetria was regarded as a portrait of the Panagia and Child painted during their lifetime by the apostle Luke in the East (in Jerusalem or Rome) and sent to Constantinople in the fifth century to the virgin empress Pulcheria by her sister-in-law, the empress Eudokia.

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE HODEGETRIA ICON

The "hodegetria" type has always been discussed as an iconography that emerges in the sixth and seventh centuries on icons and imperial seals (fig. 73). The Theometor holds the Child with both arms, her left hand resting on the infant's knee. After Iconoclasm the same type reappears on patriarchal seals of the ninth century.¹ Any image that shows the Theotokos holding the Child in her arms has traditionally been categorized as a "hodegetria." The basic problem with this approach lies in the fact that the Marian iconography displayed on the seventh-century imperial and ninth-century patriarchal seals differs from the eleventh- and twelfth-century "hodegetria" images in the particular way in which the Theometor holds the infant and addresses him. Contrary to the established position, my discussion demonstrates that the canonical "hodegetria" type consolidated only after the end of Iconoclasm. By drawing attention to the difference between the pre- and post-Iconoclast images of the Mother and Child, I argue for the formation of iconography with a focus on gesture and gaze, which then become perfectly suited for processional icons.

The Hodegetria icon features the Panagia carrying the Child in her left arm and gesturing to Him with her free right hand (fig. 80). He answers her intercessory prayer by raising his hand in blessing. The image type expresses the notion of conversation silently conducted through the painted hands of the Mother and Child. This dialogue or prayer has the potential to expand in the physical space of the viewer when the same gestures are mimetically reproduced by the faithful in the process of prayer or in the train of the procession. As a processional panel, the Hodegetria presents an image that is both rhetorical and theological. The emphasis of the new image type is placed on Mary's and the infant's gestures and gazes, which could be seen from a great distance during urban processions. Having developed as a rhetorical and processional image, the Hodegetria differs from the narrative and emotional representations of the pre-Iconoclast period.

Although the origins of the "hodegetria" visual formula can be traced back to the pre-Iconoclast period, the older images picture the relationship between Mother and Child, not the process of prayer.² Instead of raising her hand in intercession, as revealed in the post-Iconoclast images, Mary often places her right hand on the infant's knee in the pre-Iconoclast representations. Similarly, rather than offer her Child, as she does in the later canonical images, she keeps his body closer to hers and seeks physical and tactile contact with the infant (fig. 73).³ This visual schema is also displayed in the seventh-century mosaic in the church of Panagia Ageloktisti, in Kiti, Cyprus (fig. 74).⁴ The Virgin does not gesture with her free hand toward Christ, but places it on his knees. The close link between the Mother and Child is even more explicit in the early icons in Santa Maria Maggiore and the Pantheon in Rome,⁵ and the Sinai panel now



Figure 73
Lead seal of the emperor Nikephoros I (802–11). The Virgin tightly holds the body of the Child with both her hands. On the other side is the bust representation of the emperor. The inscription starts with the monograms on the obverse, "Theotoke, help," and continues on the other side with "Nikephoros, emperor of the Romans." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

in Kiev (figs. 75, 76, 77).⁶ In all three cases the Panagia hugs her Child with both hands, and in a way prevents him from venturing into the world. In the Sinai icon Mary holds his feet with one hand, and with the other she embraces and tugs his shoulder and hand. The infant manages to extend only one arm from this tight maternal embrace. His palm is open to the viewer as if to invite him or her in. The Child is ready to receive and give, while his Mother is still eager to protect him from the world. The same feeling is conveyed through her body language: her head is frontal, yet her torso is turned to the side and away from the viewer; it closes in on the Child.

Mary's embrace is unlocked in the post-Iconoclast period, and the mother is shown offering her Child. The earliest depiction of the canonical "hodegetria" type appears on an icon from Mount Sinai, with a date originally given in the eighth century but recently revised to the ninth (fig. 78).⁷ The gesture of the Theotokos's right hand expresses multiple meanings: it directs the way to Christ, intercedes on behalf of humankind, and finally offers the Child to the world. Mary's "speaking" hand is a new development that distinguishes the "hodegetria" type. The emerging visual type should not be confused with the pre-Iconoclast formula still recycled on the patriarchal seals dating to the period of the ninth to the eleventh centuries (fig. 79). In the emerging canonical type, Mary no longer seeks to touch the Child, but addresses Him with a gesture of speech. It is this "loosened embrace" and rhetorical gesture that characterize the post-Iconoclast "hodegetria" type. The visualization of the process of prayer stands at the core of the canonical type, suppressing the attempt to picture maternal love.

The emerging iconography of the processional icon is not based on naturalism or a desire to show the emotional relationship of Mother and Child,⁸ though the post-Iconoclast image types do in fact reveal the Child's unconditional love for his Mother.⁹ Instead, the Theometor's hands speak of the sacrifice of motherly love for the sake of the salvation of humanity. Mary gives out her Child. This act is clearly revealed in the ivory icons (fig. 80). When viewed from a side angle, the Theotokos's body appears as a flat surface of elongated drapery. She is the medium through which Christ passes and acquires flesh. Only the Child projects outward as the sacrificial body that the Theotokos offers to the world. The new iconography suggests the idea of double sacrifice: the Mother offers her infant, the Child—his life on behalf of humankind. The idea of sacrifice is further developed on the reverse side of the original Hodegetria icon, where an image of the Crucifixion was displayed.

Rather than maternal love, the "hodegetria" type aims to reveal a theological concept: the intercession of Mary and the benevolent response of Christ. The image type thus confirms the efficacy of the prayer, strengthened by the maternal intercession. The way Mary lifts her hand in prayer evokes the stan-



Figure 74 (above left)
Mosaic of the Virgin and Child, church of the Virgin Angeloktisti, Cyprus, seventh century. Above the Virgin is the inscription "Holy Mary." E. Hawkins, Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.



Figure 75 (above right)
Encaustic icon of the Virgin and Child known as *Salus Populi Romani* ("Safety of the Roman People") from the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, fifth–sixth centuries (?). Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

dard Deesis, or intercession scene (fig. 81, page 116).¹⁰ The latter was originally understood as the witnessing of Christ's divinity. By the mid–eleventh century the scene began to signify primarily intercession, a change attested in the poem by John of Euchaita perhaps written for Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55).¹¹ In Byzantine culture, a human being can only admit his or her sins; he or she cannot supplicate with Christ. Only the Theotokos, John the Baptist, and the saints can take the human confession and bring it to a higher level of intercession in front of Christ. Hence the Virgin plays a central role in establishing the contact between the faithful and the Child.¹² The development of the "hodegetria" type offers a visual representation of this very concept: the viewer addresses a prayer to the Mother of God, who then presents it to Christ and secures His benevolent response.

The emergence of the canonical iconography of the "hodegetria" type, with its emphasis on prayer, was most likely due to the integration of icons into processions. As indicated by the words for procession—*λιτή* and *λιτανεύω*, meaning respectively "imploing" and "to implore"—these public rituals were

themselves an occasion for intercession. The processional icons were meant to function as visual expressions of the process of prayer. Hence, their iconography developed in such a way as to show intercession and the divine response initiated through prayer.

In discussing the "hodegetria" type, a distinction should be drawn between visual representations that just exhibit the iconographic type and images that display the formula together with the name *Hodegetria* inscribed in the field. The medieval viewers perceived these named images as conscious copies of the famous cult icon. For instance, the late-tenth-century ivory plaque now in Utrecht just displays the iconographic type without any reference to the icon of the Hodegon monastery (fig. 80).¹³ By contrast, the twelfth-century enamel medallion from Siena bearing the name *Hodegetria* is an example of a conscious copy (fig. 82).¹⁴ The term, translated as "she who leads the way," perfectly fits the iconographic formula, with its visual emphasis on the interceding hand of the Theotokos. The name next to the image transforms the representation into a proxy for the original, sharing in its sacred powers.

Figure 76 (below left)

Encaustic icon of the Virgin and Child, Pantheon, Rome, ca. 609. Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Istituto centrale per il catalogo e documentazione.

Figure 77 (below right)

Encaustic icon of the Virgin and Child, sixth century, brought to Kiev in the nineteenth century from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev.





Figure 78 (above right)
Icon of the Virgin and Child, monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, ninth century. Rather than hold the infant in both her arms, the Theotokos directs her free hand toward him in a gesture of prayer. The Virgin's head is framed by the words "Holy Mary" and "Jesus Christ." Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

Figure 79 (above left)
Lead seal of Patriarch Sergios (1001–19). Both of Mary's hands rest on the body of the Child. On the reverse: "Sergios, archiepiskopos (patriarch) of Constantinople, the New Rome." Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.



Since the Hodegetria icon was destroyed in the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, its reconstruction is based on copies and written records. In the account of Pero Tafur from 1437 the Hodegetria icon is described as a double-sided panel featuring the Theometor and Child on the front and the Crucifixion on the back.¹⁵ The earliest preserved named replica of the famous icon in panel painting comes from the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Ohrid, Macedonia (figs. 83, 84, pages

118–19).¹⁶ The term *Hodegetria* is inscribed on the silver revetment. The thirteenth-century icon features on the front side the Virgin with the infant on her left arm. She gestures with her right toward the Child. The hand with which she holds the infant only touches the side of Christ's leg, without pressing his body closer to hers. The figures are gently brought together; they stand straight, composed, without overt embracing and tugging. The Child holds a scroll in his left hand and blesses with his right.

Each figure has one hand that speaks and another that carries an object. The speaking hand of Mary is visually juxtaposed to the speaking hand of Christ, forming the first pair of hands. The Theometor gestures to and implores the Child (fig. 83). Christ answers by raising and blessing with his hand. In the second pair the hand of each figure holds the Logos and thus expresses the notion of the Incarnation. The Mother's arm carries the Word in the form of the Child, while Christ holds it in the form of a text scroll.¹⁷

The position of the Theometor's hand mirrors the way the faithful pray in front of the image, as an eleventh-century text specifies: "all prayers should be said with hands held up."¹⁸ The faithful raise their arms in the same gesture as the Theotokos and envision an answer in the same form as Christ's blessing



Figure 80
Ivory plaque of the Virgin and Child, Utrecht, tenth–eleventh centuries. Mary's gesturing free hand directs a prayer to Christ, and he benevolently responds by blessing. Museum Catharine Convent, Utrecht.



Figure 81
Icon of the Deesis, monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, second half of the eleventh century. The Virgin and John the Baptist beseech Christ on behalf of humanity; the martyrs and church fathers depicted in the frame serve as a conduit to transfer the prayers of the faithful to the major intercessors in the center. Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

hand. By depicting the very gesture that the faithful use to carry out their communication with God, the painted image gives reassurance of the success of the prayer and the Panagia's intercession for humanity. Mary's gesture both elicits and enhances the response of the viewer.

In addition to entreating, the gesturing hand of the Mother also directs attention to the scene of the Crucifixion on the other side of the panel (fig. 84). Here the naked body of Christ hangs from the cross, flanked by the mourning Theometor and John the Evangelist. Mary's speaking hand repeats the same gesture of intercession from the obverse side, but her "holding" hand is now empty and pressed to her chest. Her address is revealed in the services for Holy

Friday: "Make haste, then, to arise, that I too may see Thy Resurrection on the third day from the dead." "Rise and still my pain and bitter anguish. For Thou hast power, O Master, and canst perform what Thou dost will. Even Thy burial is voluntary."¹⁹

If the Theometor continues to speak through her hands, Christ communicates through his body. His nakedness is juxtaposed to the fully dressed infant on the obverse. This juxtaposition illuminates the trauma of the Crucifixion and the magnitude of Christ's sacrifice. The clothed Child refers to the Incarnation. When the Theotokos gave flesh to the Logos, her act was seen as parallel to the process of weaving the purple wool of the temple curtain.²⁰ This same flesh/curtain was torn apart at the Crucifixion, and the idea is now conveyed through the naked body of Christ. Nakedness was associated with humiliation and the deprivation of glory.²¹ Christ's naked body also presents another paradox; its beauty and pliancy defy the notion of death and humiliation and present the concept of life. The soft and flexible nude body presents the answer to Mary's plea: life will issue from his Resurrection.

While on the obverse of the Hodegetria icon the Mother and Child communicate through a pair of speaking and a pair of holding hands, on the reverse the Mother of God continues to express herself through her hands, but Christ answers through his body. The two sides of the Hodegetria icon present in an abbreviated visual form the story from the Incarnation to the Crucifixion. They also offer the faithful a path to salvation achieved through the intercession of the Theometor, the blessing dispensed by the divine Child, and the Passion of Christ. The Hodegetria expresses the idea of Salvation through the juxtaposition of sides, gazes, and gestures.

THE LEGEND OF THE HODEGETRIA

The claim that the "hodegetria" image type developed only in the post-Iconoclast period is also supported by the chronology of the written tradition



Figure 82
Enamel roundel showing the Virgin HODEGETRIA and Child from the metal cover of a gospel book, twelfth century. Santa Maria della Scala, Siena. Foto Lensini.

Figure 83

Double-sided processional icon with the Virgin HODEGETRIA, church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid, third quarter of the thirteenth century. Scala/Art Resource, New York.



Figure 84 (opposite)

Double-sided processional icon, side B, the Crucifixion, church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid, third quarter of the thirteenth century. Scala/Art Resource, New York.



on the icon. The story about the Hodegetria gradually emerged in the period following the end of Iconoclasm. By focusing on the date on which a text was written, rather than the date of the narrated event, this study demonstrates that the Hodegetria icon came to prominence only in the eleventh century, and once it did, it triggered the creation of a myth that linked the panel with the early history of Byzantium.²²

The legend is, however, so powerful that it continues to surface in modern literature on the Hodegetria. Seduced by the medieval model, scholars have tended to reconstruct the life of the icon by gathering information indiscriminately from all the existing sources and placing them together in one continuous narrative.²³

Allegedly, the earliest record can be found in the sixth-century ecclesiastical history by Theodore Anagnostes.²⁴ He supposedly wrote the following: "And Eudokia sent from Jerusalem to Pulcheria the icon of the Theometor that the apostle Luke painted.²⁵ [. . .] Pulcheria the pious died, bequeathing many virtuous deeds and all her possessions to the poor, which things Markianos did not neglect but zealously administered to all their needs. Pulcheria built many sanctuaries: those at the Blachernai, the Chalkoprateia, and the Hodegon and along with them the church of the martyr Lawrence."²⁶ Yet, the authenticity of the passage can be questioned, since it occurs only in the thirteenth-century manuscripts transmitting the text. The manuscripts from the early eleventh century do not include the excerpt. It is thus possible that the passage is a later interpolation.²⁷ Moreover, from the foundations attributed to Pulcheria, only the monastery of St. Lawrence is historically attested as actually being built by her.²⁸

In compiling his ecclesiastical history in the early fourteenth century, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos most likely edited the text of Theodore Anagnostes by interpolating into it this passage about Pulcheria.²⁹ Xanthopoulos narrates a similar account about the Hodegetria icon and its monastery:

She [Pulcheria] built from the very foundations three supremely great sanctuaries of those dedicated to the Mother of God, of which the one at the Chalkoprateia carries the name the holy *soros*, where she deposited the holy girdle of the Theometor. . . . In it [the Chalkoprateia] a vigil and a *litania* [procession] were decreed to be held on Wednesdays and to advance together with light-emitting candles. The second foundation is the one of the Hodegoi [meaning "the guides"], where she deposited the icon of the Mother of the Logos, sent from Antioch. It was painted by the hands of Luke, the divine apostle, while she [the Theometor] was still alive, and when she saw the image, she bestowed her grace on it. Indeed this icon was first placed in the so-called Tribunalium, where [Pul-

cheria] did for the first time what even now is performed for it. For this reason [Pulcheria] ordered that a vigil and a *litania* be carried out on Tuesdays, which is still observed today. The third sanctuary, consecrated to the hallowed Mother of the Logos with unbelievable beauty and decorated with materials of all kinds, is called the Blachernai.³⁰

Xanthopoulos's text offers the complete version of the myth of the Hodegetria icon: painted by Luke, brought from Antioch (contrary to the account of Anagnostes, who mentions Jerusalem), and deposited in the Hodegon monastery. The latter was one of the three most important Marian foundations in the city—the others being the Blachernai and the Chalkoprateia—all ahistorically ascribed to Pulcheria.³¹

THE MONASTERY AND ITS ICON: THE HODEGON AND THE HODEGETRIA

No evidence exists for a Hodegon monastery or a Hodegetria icon in Constantinople in the period before Iconoclasm.³² Only in the second half of the ninth century do a number of texts mention the sanctuary: the *Patria*, the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, and the account in Theophanes Continuatus. Yet these sources never discuss the monastery as one of Pulcheria's foundations. The *Patria*, a ninth-century compilation of stories about the history of Constantinople, offers the earliest account on the Hodegon. The text reads as follows: "The Hodegon was built by Michael, who was assassinated by Basil. Before [the Hodegon] there was a chapel; many blind people regained their sight there at the spring, and many miracles occurred."³³ The holy spring, or *louma*, and a small chapel constituted the original core of the complex. The foundation was later rebuilt and enlarged by Michael III (842–67).³⁴

The *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, a forgery composed in the mid-ninth century, mentions in passing the presence of the Hodegon. According to this source, a certain John holding the rank of reader in Hagia Sophia at the time of Leo V (813–20) lived near the Hodegon monastery.³⁵

Finally, the Hodegon is also noted in the tenth century by Theophanes Continuatus in connection with a visit of the caesar Bardas to this sanctuary in 866.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄνειρος οὕτω δὴ ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ ὕπαρ ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄναρ ἐστίν, ἄρτι κατὰ τῶν Κρητικῶν πανδημεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ καθωπλίζετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου ναόν, ὅς οὕτω δὴ Ὁδηγοὶ κατονομάζεται, προσφοιτήσας εἰσῆει μετὰ λαμπάδων τὸν συντακτήριον ἐκκληρῶν. ὥς οὖν τοῖς ἀδύτοις πλησιάζων ἀπῆει, ἄφνω τῶν αὐτοῦ ὤμων ἢ χλανὶς ὀλισθήσασα αἰσθῆσθαι τοῦτον καινοτέρων δεινῶν ἐνεποίησεν. From Theophanes Continuatus, IV.41, Bonn ed., 204, vv. 10–17.

And his dream finished in fact in this way. And what is reality and not a dream is the following. At that time [the caesar Bardas] was preparing, together with Michael, for a mass campaign against the Arabs in Crete, he headed toward the church of our exceedingly holy Mistress Theotokos, which [church] is just called the Hodegoi [the Guides]; he entered with candles ready to fulfill his farewells.³⁶ As he was approaching the sanctuary, suddenly his cloak slipping off his shoulders made him foresee his impending calamity.³⁷

The text only mentions that the caesar Bardas took his farewells at the Hodegon. At this point no icon is discussed in connection with the monastery.³⁸

Sometime in the second half of the tenth or the early eleventh century the written sources start to record the existence of an icon cult at the Hodegon. The first record is preserved in the tenth- or eleventh-century *Life* of Saint Thomaïs of Lesbos. The Hodegon monastery and its icon are mentioned in connection with the visit of the saint to the shrine:

[Saint Thomaïs], who was accustomed to frequent the divine churches and rejoice in the all-night hymnody, went once to the holy church of the Hodegon (which is now called the Hodegetria). And here she stood near one of the holy icons of the Mother of God and made her customary prayers. And while she was visiting, as was her wont, the aforementioned holy church, from which the all-holy icon of the completely immaculate Virgin is carried in procession every Tuesday very early in the morning, revered and venerated by all according to custom . . .³⁹

It has been argued that the *Life* dates to the mid-tenth century on the basis of internal evidence mentioning that the text was written during the rule of the *porphyrogennetos* Romanos, identified as Emperor Romanos II (959–63).⁴⁰ By contrast, Alexander Kazhdan has argued that the *Life* was written during the reign of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1067–71).⁴¹ He bases his theory on the following facts: Saint Thomaïs of Lesbos, even though she is a Constantinopolitan saint, does not appear in the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople; none of the people cured by the saint are named or have a more precise historical identity; and the document contains a reference to a certain monastery of St. Ankourios, a religious foundation that dates to the eleventh century.⁴² If this dating is correct,⁴³ then the text provides a *terminus ante quem* in the third quarter of the eleventh century for the establishment of an icon-centered cult at the Hodegon and the renaming of the monastery after the Hodegetria panel.

Additional evidence about the Hodegetria icon and its processions also occurs in a Byzantine edifying story about a Marian panel called the *Romaia*.⁴⁴

The narrative is dated to ca. 1036,⁴⁵ which is supported by internal evidence: the mention of a certain Staurakios, a *spatharokandidatos* from the time of Basil I (867–86).⁴⁶ Since the imperial dignity, *spatharokandidatos*, disappears from the lists at the end of the eleventh century, the text must have been composed before the end of that period.⁴⁷ The account reads as follows:

After these events [the icon of the Theotokos *Romaia* was placed in the Chalkoprateia church]; since a procession of the Theotokos of the Hodegon monastery was instituted on every Tuesday, the more prominent members of the Orthodox community, having formed a confraternity, took that panel [of the Virgin *Romaia*] from the divine church [Chalkoprateia], and in a divine and holy *litania* that takes place once every week, as it had been said, and having decreed that it [the *Romaia* icon] lead the procession together with the Hodegetria image, they constituted it by will to visit the venerable churches of the saints, just as the ancient tradition perseveres till now.⁴⁸

The text names both the Hodegon monastery and its Hodegetria icon and asserts that the *Romaia* icon of the Chalkoprateia church joined the Hodegetria in the weekly Tuesday processions. The account also insists that the procession was established long ago. As demonstrated in the chapter on the Avar siege, the liturgical *litaniai* with icons were a recent phenomenon in Constantinople in the eleventh century. The insistence of the text on ancient tradition reveals the impetus to cast these new practices as customs of old.

The growing prominence of the Hodegetria led to the renaming of the sanctuary after the icon. A text provides a more secure date for the introduction of the term *Hodegetria*; this is recension C of the so-called *Patria* (*Scriptores originum constantinopolitanorum*), a collection of narratives about the topography of Constantinople. Recension C starts with a poem mentioning the name of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).⁴⁹ The Hodegetria is referred to as belonging to the second region: “from the Tzikanisterion, the Hodegetria, the Mangana, and all the way to the Blachernai.”⁵⁰ If we accept the eleventh-century date of the *Life* of Saint Thomaïs, then recension C of the *Patria* is almost contemporary with the *Vita*. The account provides a list of monuments organized according to three main districts. The use of the name Hodegetria to identify the monastery itself attests to the growing importance of the icon in the late eleventh century.

Based on the *Patria*, the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, and the record in Theophanes Continuatus, the Hodegon appears to have been founded as a chapel next to a miraculous spring in the eighth or early ninth century. It was then enlarged and rebuilt by Emperor Michael III and turned into a monastery.⁵¹ Although the cult at the Hodegon in its early stage focused on the

holy spring, by the late tenth century it was centered on a special miraculous icon: the Hodegetria. The evidence preserved in the *Life* of Saint Thomaïs of Lesbos, the narrative of the *Maria Romaia*, and recension C of the *Patria* give an eleventh-century *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of the icon of the Hodegetria, its inclusion in urban processions, and the change of the name of the monastery.⁵²

THE HODEGETRIA AND THE LEGEND OF THE ICON PAINTED BY THE APOSTLE LUKE

Once the icon of the Hodegetria became famous, it needed a sacred past to bolster its power. In order to establish a tradition, the panel was attributed to the hand of the apostle Luke.⁵³ An examination of the narratives of the Lukan legend reveals that the story was initially associated with icons in Jerusalem and Rome. Only in the eleventh century was the narrative attached to the Hodegetria in Constantinople. The Lukan legend itself originated in the mid-eighth century.⁵⁴ The myth was invented in order to support the legitimacy of icon veneration during the Iconoclast controversy. By claiming the existence of a portrait of the Theotokos painted during her lifetime by the evangelist Luke, the perpetrators of this fiction fabricated evidence for the apostolic origins and divine approval of images. The Greek polemical texts of the Iconoclast period (Andrew of Crete, the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, the *Life* of Saint Stephen the Younger, and *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*) and the historical accounts from the ninth to the twelfth centuries (George Harmatolos, the *Life* of Michael the Synkellos, Symeon Metaphrastes, Skylitzes, and Kedrenos)⁵⁵ consistently record that the Lukan panel was kept either in Jerusalem or Rome.⁵⁶ None of these Byzantine sources associates the Marian icon with the city of Constantinople.⁵⁷

Andrew of Crete, who lived in the eighth century, offers the earliest account:⁵⁸

Christianity does not have anything unproved or foreign. For even the use of holy icons itself belongs to an old tradition, for we have trustworthy proofs advocating the validity of images [. . .]. The third proof: All the people of old have said that the apostle and evangelist Luke painted with his own hands the incarnate Christ and his pure Mother, and their images Rome has to her own glory. And others assert with precision that these icons were in Jerusalem [. . .]. In a similar way [they spoke about] the image of the Theotokos, which is seen today and some call the *Romaia*.⁵⁹

In his apology for images Andrew of Crete brings as his third example proving the validity of icon veneration the portraits of Christ and Mary painted

by the apostle Luke. For the location of the panel Andrew of Crete suggests both Rome and Jerusalem. Yet in its initial stage the legend about the icon is definitely not linked to Constantinople.⁶⁰

The story of the panel painted by Luke was integrated early on into the mythos of miracle-working icons. For example, the mid-ninth-century *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* relates the following: "Similarly, the divine apostle and evangelist Luke drew with colored paints on a tablet the portrait of the All-Pure, the revered and divine features of the holy Mother of God, Mary, while she was still alive and living in the holy Sion, thus bequeathing this mirror-image to a later generation. And when he showed it to the Mother of God, she said, 'My blessing shall be with it.'"⁶¹

According to the *Letter*, the Marian icon was painted by Luke and blessed by the Mother of God. As in the earlier account of Andrew of Crete, the panel was allegedly produced and kept in Jerusalem.

Another example of the Lukan legend is offered in the life of Michael the Synkellos, written in the third quarter of the ninth century: "And is it not the Evangelist Luke who seems to have been the first to depict the life-like icon of Christ our God and His Mother that is preserved even now in the great city of Rome and in our holy city of God?"⁶² Since the excerpt comes from a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem to Leo V, "our holy City of God" is to be understood as Jerusalem.

The Luke legend is also mentioned by Symeon Metaphrastes (950–1022):

And what is the most pleasant, over all other deeds, is that he [the apostle Luke] was the first who painted on an icon in wax and colors [encaustic] the figure itself of the human nature of our Christ and the image of the one [the Theotokos] who gave birth to him and granted him human nature. And he [the apostle Luke] bequeathed this to be venerated in the icon through the present day. For he thought it is not sufficient unless [Christ] meets those who desire him through an icon, which is the proof of the most ardent love. Not only this, but he is doing a great favor to the pious and Christ-loving people.⁶³

Symeon Metaphrastes asserts that the evangelist Luke painted an icon of Christ; it is unclear if the Child was held in his Mother's arms. The text also does not specify where this icon was kept. The account only makes clear that by the tenth century the apostle Luke was perceived as the "painter" of the original icons of Christ and the Theotokos. In the entry for Luke's feast day, on October 18, the *Synaxarion* of Symeon Metaphrastes describes the apostle as a painter: "the evangelist Luke came from the great city of Antioch; he was a physician by education and a painter."⁶⁴

By the eleventh century, however, manuscripts begin to associate the Luke legend with an icon in Constantinople—more precisely, with the Hodegetria. The earliest surviving sources to reveal this association are two Latin pilgrims' accounts of Constantinople: the *Anonymous Mercati* and the *Anonymous Tarragonensis* 55 (*Descriptiones Constantinopolis I and II*). An English pilgrim is the author of the *Anonymous Mercati*. He used an original Greek text, which he translated into Latin.⁶⁵ The Greek account has been dated to the period 1063–81, the Latin translation to 1089–1120.⁶⁶ The text gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1063–81 for the Luke legend's association with the Constantinopolitan panel. The account reads as follows:

In the part of the palace near the church of Hagia Sophia, very near to the Great palace by the sea, is situated the monastery of the Mother of God, Theotokos. And in this monastery there is a holy icon of the Theotokos, called Hodegetria, which can be translated as "She Who Leads the Way." For once upon a time there were two blind people to whom the Holy Mother appeared, and [she] led them to her church, opened their eyes, and they saw the light. The holy apostle Luke painted this image of the Mother of God holding the Christ Child on her arm. And every Tuesday the people [of Constantinople] carry in procession this image of the Theotokos with great veneration, chants, and hymns. Many people walk with the icon, the men in the front, the women in the back [of the procession].⁶⁷

The text mentions several important points about the history of the Hodegetria monastery and its icon. It relates the legend of the two blind men led by the Theometor to a healing spring, where they regained their sight. It also asserts that the evangelist Luke painted the icon of the Mother and Child. Finally, it describes the weekly Tuesday procession of the panel across town. The *Anonymous Mercati* is thus the first source to bring the different strings of the story of the Hodegetria and its monastery together. Similarly, it offers the earliest attested reference to a Marian panel painted by Luke in Constantinople.

A similar account is preserved in the *Anonymous Tarragonensis* (Tarragona, Public Library, Cod. Lat. 55).⁶⁸ The manuscript is from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, yet the text itself is dated on internal topographical evidence to the period 1075–98/99.⁶⁹ The author of the text was a layperson, a Francophone perhaps coming from Flanders.⁷⁰ In his description of Constantinople, the pilgrim focuses on cult images and sanctuaries of the Theotokos. The interest in Marian sites and miracles could be explained by the fact that the manuscript belonged to the Cistercian monastery of the Holy Cross dedicated to the Virgin. The collection of stories was intended to highlight the role of the Theotokos in the Byzantine capital. The *Anonymous Tarragonensis* provides the standard account about the Hodegetria icon: "There is another church, which

is called the Hodegetria, in which resides the glorious icon of the Theotokos painted by Saint Luke, as the Greeks say."⁷¹

The last account concerning a Lukan image in Constantinople comes from Philagathos Kerameus of Sicily.⁷² In his homily on the Sunday of Orthodoxy written ca. 1140,⁷³ he says the following: "And the skilled apostle Luke painted in wax and colors [encaustic] an icon of the Theometor carrying in her holy arms the Lord, which is now preserved in the big city [Constantinople]."⁷⁴ In this twelfth-century text the location of the Lukan icon of the Mother of God is identified as Constantinople.

To summarize, the collection of texts shows that the Luke legend was created during Iconoclasm but was initially associated with a panel in Jerusalem or Rome, not Constantinople. The same cities remain in the Greek historical accounts written after Iconoclasm, from the mid-ninth century to the twelfth. It is only in the sources written in the Latin West in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries that the legend of an icon painted by Luke came to be associated with the Hodegetria in Constantinople.⁷⁵ It is plausible that the link between the icon and the legend was promoted when the Hodegon was given by an imperial decree to the patriarchate of Antioch in 970.⁷⁶ Due to this Eastern connection, a new icon-centered cult developed, focused on the miraculous image of the Panagia painted by the apostle.

Another reason why a Lukan icon of the Theotokos was not initially associated with Constantinople could be the fact that the cult of Mary in the Byzantine capital in the pre-Iconoclast period centered on relics rather than icons (as discussed in Chapter 2). A cult focused on panels developed only after Iconoclasm, around the middle of the tenth century. By contrast, Jerusalem and especially Rome had a number of important Marian cult icons already in the pre-Iconoclast period.

It is also possible that the myth of a Marian icon painted by Luke developed in Rome during Iconoclasm; it would then have been integrated into the Greek polemical writings of the iconophiles and would have persisted unchanged in the Byzantine sources after Iconoclasm. Most recently it has been suggested that the impetus behind the attribution of sacred icons to the hand of Luke arose as a consequence of the Schism of 1054 between the Orthodox and Catholic churches. In its aftermath, both centers attempted to support the legitimacy of their hegemony by bolstering their collections of apostolic relics and icons.⁷⁷

THE HODEGETRIA AS PULCHERIA'S GIFT

The last element of the Hodegetria tradition makes the icon a gift sent by the fifth-century empress Eudokia to her sister-in-law, the virgin empress Pulcheria. As argued in the earlier chapters, Pulcheria was not actively involved in

promoting Marian devotion. The building of Constantinopolitan churches and monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary belongs to the 470s, after Pulcheria's death. So the legend associating this empress with the Hodegetria icon is ahistorical, created at a later period, likely a result of the development of imperial commemorative services at the Pantokrator monastery in the twelfth century. The Hodegetria icon became the visual focus of these ceremonies. The panel was thus tightly linked with the imperial cult. Consequently, an imperial past was created for the Hodegetria icon. Elements of the legend are first attested in the early thirteenth century.⁷⁸ In his description of the church of the Holy Apostles in 1203 Mesarites writes: "The [tomb] towards the east, closest to this one, is that of Pulcheria. She is the honored and celebrated founder of the Hodegon; see how she a virgin herself holds in her hands the likeness of the all-holy Virgin."⁷⁹

Pulcheria's alleged foundation of the Hodegon is then extended to the icon and the weekly procession in a patriographic text known as the *Logos Diegematikos*, from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century:⁸⁰

In fact the empress Eudokia, upon receiving these holy and divine gifts [the Hodegetria icon and relics] from those holy monks like some much-valued treasure, sent them to the empress Pulcheria, the wife of Markianos and sister of Theodosios, for she was loved genuinely by her. Which gift Pulcheria, as one could say, receiving it with great joy, deposited in the famous and holy sanctuary of the Theotokos and ordered the holy and sacred icon to be in the church as a protection of the palace, the entire city, and the whole world. Having called it the "Guide [*Hodegos*] of good things." And this icon was to go around the city on the third day of the week [Tuesday], with psalms, hymns, and candles, in order to turn away in flight all the enemies and to be a shelter [*episkepsis*] for the weak and a kind consolation [*paramythia*] to the suffering and the most all-mighty help [*boethia*] for those who are in other ways in hardships and in pain. For the same famous empress Pulcheria built also the Blachernai and the Chalkoprateia churches of the Theotokos. And she caused the sacred icons to be taken out of the Blachernai church, with hymns and candles, in the evening of the sixth day of the week [Friday], and led in procession to the [Chalkoprateia] during the whole night, in order to give thanks to God for the salvation of the world. Then, on the third day of the week [Tuesday], here [at the Hodegon] the empress Pulcheria of eternal memory [also led the procession. She] accompanied both processions, always having covered her head and walking barefoot, carrying can-

dles together with the other virgins and chaste women, and pleading for the salvation of the world by God.⁸¹

In this later text Pulcheria is credited with inserting the Hodegetria icon into the framework of the liturgical processions of Constantinople. In general the link with the empress Pulcheria appears to have developed in the written tradition about the Hodegetria icon around the twelfth century. Unlike the Lukan legend, Pulcheria's story was firmly associated with a Byzantine milieu and represented the interests of the imperial house. Yet what made the icon the center of the imperial cult? The answer to this question lies in the popularity of the Hodegetria established and maintained through its weekly processions.

THE TUESDAY PROCESSION

The Middle Byzantine procession with the Hodegetria took place early in the morning on Tuesdays.⁸² It passed through the main thoroughfare of the city, the Mese, and headed to a different church each week for the day's stationary liturgy.⁸³ The difficulty in reconstructing Middle Byzantine processions comes from the lack of tenth- to twelfth-century representations showing *litaniai* with icons; the survival of very few texts, mostly Latin accounts describing the ceremonies; and the heavy reliance on Late Byzantine images of icon processions whose character was different from that of the Middle Byzantine ceremonies. My discussion includes the wall painting from the Blachernai monastery in Arta, Greece, although it represents the Late Byzantine weekly procession of the Hodegetria. At the same time, I have excluded from this chapter the frescoes from the Dečani, Mateić, and Markov monasteries because they feature a different ritual: the annual imperial commemoration services following the Akathistos celebration.⁸⁴ This Palaiologan ceremony cannot be compared with the weekly Tuesday procession of the Middle Byzantine period. My reconstruction of the Tuesday procession presents a new approach; it relies on narrative scenes, mostly from the life of the Theometor, and analyzes them as repositories of processional practices.

Crosses called *litanikoi stauroi* usually led the urban processions.⁸⁵ When decorated, these objects often featured figures making intercessory gestures. For instance, a late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century silver-gilt cross now at the Cluny museum displays an image of entreaty on both sides (figs. 85, 86).⁸⁶ The front features a Deesis with Mary in the center flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel at the sides, and John the Baptist at the bottom. The prayer is addressed to Christ, who dispenses a blessing in answer to the entreaties. The backside of the cross has narrative images that explain why the Theometor has the power to intercede on behalf of humankind. Starting from the right wing of the cross and reading clockwise, the following scenes unfold

on the back side (fig. 86): the Presentation of the Panagia to the Temple, the Virgin being fed by an angel at the sanctuary, the Annunciation, and finally the Crucifixion. At the center, the Virgin in a "hodegetria"-type iconography addresses the prayers of the faithful to Christ. The Theotokos has received a special dispensation, first by being admitted at the Holiest of Holy, where no layman is allowed,⁸⁷ then by receiving manna from the hand of an angel, and finally by giving birth to the divine Logos. Yet only at the moment of the Crucifixion does Christ appoint Mary as mediatrix on behalf of humankind. This moment is captured in the words, inscribed in the field, with which Christ addresses the Theometor and John the Evangelist: "Son, behold: this is your mother! Mother, behold: this is your son!" Christ asks his Mother to accept John, standing for all of humanity, as her son, while the disciple is asked in turn to receive Mary as the universal mother who would protect humankind.⁸⁸ The narrative scenes at the back of the cross explain why the Theometor is the focus and conduit of prayers to God. Her intercession is conveyed both as a standing "hodegetria" type on the back and as a figure of the hierarchical Deesis on the front.

In addition to the crosses, icons played a prominent role in the Tuesday *litaniai*. Many of these panels were brought on forked poles affixed to the bottom of their frames. The same method was used to carry both the crosses and the icons: the base of the handle or pole was placed in a metal cup or a leather pouch suspended with a sling from the neck of the bearer, Menologion of Basil II, Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 142 (fig. 87).⁸⁹

As demonstrated in the earlier chapters, processions with icons started to develop after Iconoclasm, in the second half of the tenth century. Perhaps because they had such a late appearance in the urban life of Constantinople, *litaniai* with icons were not mentioned in the two main tenth-century collections describing annual public ceremonies in the city.⁹⁰ Likewise, the illustrated *Menologia*, books that present brief descriptions of all the feast days arranged in the order of the liturgical year, do not include processions with icons.⁹¹ The miniatures of these manuscripts only depict the *litaniai* established in the pre-Iconoclast period; these processions feature just the carrying of crosses and tapers.⁹² The miniature shown in figure 87 displays an annual public commemoration of a terrible eighth-century earthquake. It shows a file of clergy holding tapers, a deacon carrying a large cross, and a patriarch with a gospel book approaching the final stop, the Blachernai church.

By the eleventh century processions with icons had become common in Constantinople. Yet the Byzantines did not depict these urban ceremonies. No images of icon processions of the period before the Latin conquest exist. From the Late Byzantine period, only one fresco, in the Blachernai church at Arta, shows the Tuesday procession (fig. 88).⁹³ It features at the center the Hodege-



Figure 85
Silver-gilt processional cross,
late eleventh–twelfth centuries,
obverse. Réunion des musées
nationaux/Art Resource, New
York.

Figure 86

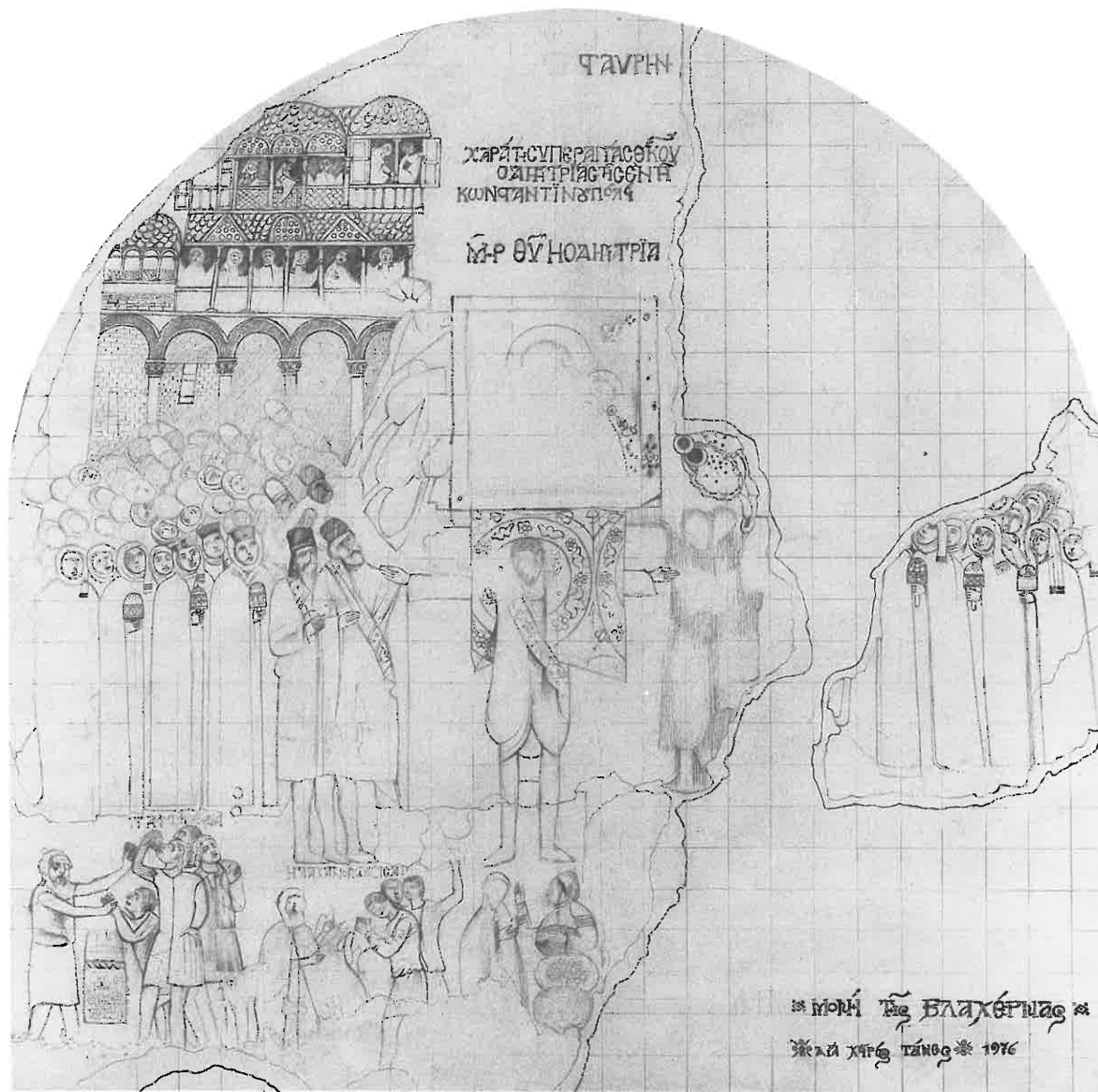
Silver-gilt processional cross, late eleventh–twelfth centuries, reverse. Scenes from the Theometor's wife. At the bottom of the cross is an image of the patron with the words "Deesis of the servant Kosmas the Monk." Réunion des musées nationaux/ Art Resource, New York.

*Figure 87*

An annual procession commemorating the terrible earthquake of 740, miniature in the Menologion (calendar book) of Basil II, Vat. Cod. Gr. 1613, fol. 142, late tenth–early eleventh centuries. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

tria icon with a long embroidered *podeum* (a skirt attached to the bottom frame of the icon), carried on the shoulders of a man. He walks with arms outstretched. His “crucified” stance recalls the description by Stephen of Novgorod from 1348–49: “they place the icon on the shoulders of one man who is standing upright and he stretches out his arms as if [being crucified] and then they bind up his eyes.”⁹⁴ He is flanked on both sides by men, identified as members of the confraternity of the icon. Behind them appear men and a large congregation of women, who wear cloaks and head scarves and hold candles. More women appear in the background, standing in the arcades and balconies of a large building. They have raised their hands in gestures of prayer. At the foreground vendors sell drinks, fruits, and vegetables.⁹⁵

The depicted ceremony, however, differs from the Middle Byzantine one. In the Palaiologan period the Hodegetria was just brought out from the Hodegon and carried to a square close to Hagia Sophia. Here a special ritual was performed, as described by both Clavijo in A.D. 1403–6 and Pero Tafur in 1437: “they piously take the Picture out from the church and carry it to a court nearby”;⁹⁶ “the bearer then places it on his shoulders and they go singing out of the church to a great square, where he who carries the picture walks with it from one end to the other, and fifty times round the square.”⁹⁷ The icon-bearer was blindfolded and made to walk, moving unsteadily under the weight of the icon and the push of the crowd, which was eager to come in close contact with the icon. Stephen of Novgorod provides the most dramatic description: “it is terrible to see how it [the power of the icon] pushes him [the icon-bearer] this



way and that way around the monastery's enclosure, and how forcefully it turns him about, for he does not understand where the icon is taking him.²⁹⁸ On the basis of the fresco at Arta and the foreign travelers' and pilgrims' accounts, it is safe to conclude that the later Tuesday procession differed from the Middle Byzantine one. The ritual of the blindfolded man and the location where these practices took place differed from the earlier grand urban proces-

sions and stational liturgy.⁹⁹ The Palaiologan painting of the Tuesday procession is thus not very informative for the reconstruction of the earlier ceremony. Only the presence of the large group of women seems to correspond to the descriptions of the Middle Byzantine *litaniai*.

Most of the information we have today about the eleventh-century Tuesday ceremony comes from the accounts of foreigners who visited the city and described some of its rituals. The *Anonymous Tarragonensis*, written in the last quarter of the eleventh century, presents the following:

There is another church, which is called Hodegetria, in which resides the glorious icon of the Theotokos painted by Saint Luke, as the Greeks say.

This icon [the Hodegetria] is in full veneration in Constantinople thus far, so that during the year, on Tuesdays, it is carried by the clergy with the greatest honor across town, with an exceeding multitude of men and women walking in front of and behind it, singing praises to the Theotokos and carrying burning candles in hands. You would witness in this procession, as they say, on Tuesday at all times many and different signs of human veneration, and you would hear many sweet-sounding voices not only of the clergy but of the laypeople, and you would marvel more, and it is agreed that the women, dressed in silk clothes, sing religious chants [and walk] behind the icon of the Theotokos, like maids after their mistress. And next to the voice of the psalmist, youths and virgins, old and young men, give praise to the name of God, who became incarnated in the Virgin for our sake. Preceding indeed this noble image of the Mother of God are numerous other icons from other churches; sacred and golden, they are like maids next to their mistress. [The icon] then follows the rest at the back, and like a mistress she is distinguished from all the rest by her merciful face and gesture. I walked to the church where the stational liturgy was scheduled for the day, and festivities are celebrated by the people. The laymen gather at the place allotted for the stational liturgy for the day, where the glorious image is brought with honor to the church. Here Mass is celebrated. After the rites are performed with great honor, the icon is sent back again to its own church.

I have heard them refer to some miracle about this holy image [the Hodegetria], housed in the aforementioned city. When the aforesaid icon of the blessed Mother of God is carried about town and passes by the church of Christ the Savior [at the Chalke], in whose entry Jesus is eminently represented, the sacred Theotokos [the icon] turns by itself to face her son, independent from the one

Figure 88

The Tuesday procession with the Hodegetria, drawing of the fresco at the Blachernai church in Arta, 1282–84. Inscription above the icon: "Mother of God, Hodegetria, and the grace of the exceedingly holy Theotokos Hodegetria in Constantinople." Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou.

who carries the icon; and the image of the Mother turns to face the Child at sight [Christ at Chalke], wanting [the icon] to honor and venerate the Son, who made her Queen of the angels.¹⁰⁰

The attention is focused on the icons and the entourage of women and men walking and singing hymns and psalms in a manner reminiscent of the scene of Mary's *eisodos* (entry into the Temple). Thus a miniature from the twelfth-century Kokkinobaphos manuscript showing the Entrance of the Virgin into the Temple could offer visual clues to the Middle Byzantine Tuesday ceremony (fig. 89).¹⁰¹ The miniature depicts a procession; on the upper row Jewish maidens carry candles. They are followed by the three-year-old Mary, her parents, Anna and Joachim, and a group of middle-aged men at the back. At the bottom, the crowds of men, women, and children split in order to let the procession pass through their midst.¹⁰² The perception of space changes from the upper to the lower frieze; while the direction goes from left to right at the top, the procession should be imagined as cutting right through the center of the congregation at the bottom.

The miniature presents the diversity of the crowd; people come from all walks of life. Most of them raise their hands in prayer, replicating the gesture of the Panagia in the frieze above, and the Virgin's on the Hodegetria icon (figs. 82, 83). The miniature suggests by analogy that during the regular Tuesday procession the raised hands of the faithful were in symphony with the painted hands of the Mother of God on the icon. The miniature evokes the way the icon was seen by the congregation. In a procession the panels were carried above eye level, and the people lifted their heads in order to view the images.

THE TUESDAY PROCESSION AND THE SCENE OF THE VIRGIN'S *EISODOS*

While the Byzantines did not leave any visual record of the eleventh-century Tuesday procession, they were accustomed to read elements of their daily lives in the standard narrative scenes from the life of the Theotokos and Christ.¹⁰³ Processions feature in the representations of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, his Entry into the Temple, and finally the Virgin's Presentation to the Temple. From these three scenes, Mary's *eisodos* offers the closest link to the Tuesday processions of the Hodegetria icon. The analogy between the two processions is strong; just as the three-year old Theotokos was led to the Holiest of Holy, so too the Hodegetria was brought to the altar of a different church each week for the celebration of the Mass; just as Mary resided in the sanctuary, so too was the Hodegetria icon kept during the week at the Holy of Holies.¹⁰⁴ Such parallels invite an exploration of the narrative scenes showing the Panagia's *eisodos*. The iconography gradually changes from a static dialogue between Mary and the angel at the steps of the church to a scene of a procession.¹⁰⁵

Figure 89

The procession of the Virgin into the Temple, miniature from the homilies of the monk James of Kokkinobaphos, Vat. Gr. 1162, fol. 59v, twelfth century. The title reads: "About the march of the Virgin into the Temple." Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.





Figure 90
The *eisodos* of the Virgin, detail
of ivory book cover, fifth century.
Fabbrica del duomo di Milano.

Among the earliest extant examples is a fifth-century ivory book cover at the cathedral treasury of Milan (fig. 90).¹⁰⁶ Mary's *eisodos* is carved on the top right; it features the Virgin standing in front of a staircase leading to a church. The angel points with his finger to a star in heaven. The image depicts only the encounter of the Theotokos with the angel; processional elements are absent. The character of this composition is not surprising, especially since the feast of Mary's *eisodos* seems to have been introduced to the Byzantine church only in the eighth century by Patriarch Germanos I (715–30).¹⁰⁷

The Entry of the Virgin develops as an image of a procession in the post-Iconoclast period.¹⁰⁸ Most of the preserved examples come from the frescoes in Cappadocia;¹⁰⁹ only a few

miniatures, an ivory plaque, and a mosaic at Daphni offer a glimpse of the character and development of this scene in Constantinople. A tenth-century ivory plaque now in Berlin presents a more developed stage of the iconography of the procession (fig. 91).¹¹⁰ At the far left, Anna and Joachim witness the *eisodos* of their child. Before them stand nine maidens holding burning tapers. At their lead is the Virgin reaching toward the outstretched arms of Zacharias. At the upper right, Mary appears again and accepts manna from the hands of the angel, a figure now broken off and missing.

The early-eleventh-century Menologion of Basil II offers a miniature of the standard iconography of Mary's *eisodos* (Vat. Cod. Gr. 1613, fol. 198) (fig. 92).¹¹¹ The maidens approach with tapers from the far left. They are led by Anna and Joachim, who present their eager child to Zacharias. The tremor and pious excitement of the high priest is expressed through his agitated drapery and big stride. At the upper right the Virgin, sitting in the sanctuary, accepts bread from the angel.¹¹²

The mosaic of the *eisodos* from the twelfth-century monastery at Daphni also shows the procession of maidens (fig. 93).¹¹³ The moment is described in the twelfth-century homily of James of Kokkinobaphos:

A chorus of maidens came forth in well-arranged harmony, and by way of their ordered steps, and with a blossoming beauty on their faces; it presented a sweet spectacle: the Virgin, attended on all sides by the maidens carrying candles; just as her face was unusual in expression, so was her outer appearance [dress]. For their blossoming faces were obscured by her brightest beauty, as the ray of the sun outshines the brightest of stars. For her thoughtful face, veiled by joy, was revealing the greatness of her soul.¹¹⁴

Harmony, rhythm, and beauty characterize the advance of the virgins. In their midst, Mary shines like a ray of sun among the dimmer stars.

In a similar way, the Latin account about the Tuesday procession refers to the Hodegetria as the mistress surrounded on all sides by the other icons, her maids.

In the mosaic of the *eisodos* at Daphni the closed doors of the sanctuary define the border between the sacred and the profane. Yet, in the next moment, Mary sits on a chair inside the Holy of Holies and receives manna from the hand of the angel. The paradox of the Virgin's entrance into the sanctuary, where no layperson is allowed in the Byzantine church, reveals the special dispensation given by God to the Theotokos in order to ensure the ultimate salvation of humankind.¹¹⁵ Similar ideas are conveyed in the homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos:

Immaculate place, receive the most immaculate feet, life not shared with anyone, observe the unstained dove, for I will prepare her as a sign, as it is necessary to fulfill the promises. Light up your candle of light, and clear the entrance, raise the flame high up in the air, as a symbol, and guide the community to you [here the orders are addressed to the high priest Zacharias], in order that it [the com-



Figure 91
Ivory plaque of the *eisodos* of
the Virgin, tenth century.
Inscription in the upper left:
"The Holy of Holies." Bildarchiv
preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Münzkabinett, Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 92
The *eisodos* of Mary, miniature
in the Menologion of Basil II,
Vat. Cod. Gr. 1613, fol. 198, late
tenth–early eleventh centuries.
Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

munity] sees the light-emitting cloud, and becomes part of its rays, and perceives its spring abounding in light.”¹¹⁶

The text draws attention to the light of candles as a symbol of salvation.¹¹⁷ In a similar way the train of the Tuesday procession is bathed in the light of the oil lamps and torches and the glimmers reflected from the golden surfaces of the icons and their metal revetments.

The image of the maidens carrying torches and candles alludes to the concept of salvation as told in the parable of the five wise virgins, discussed in the liturgy for Holy Tuesday.¹¹⁸ According to the story, the wise ones arrived at the wedding feast with their lamps lit and were admitted into the bridegroom’s chamber. By contrast, their fellow five unwise virgins had no oil for their lamps and were thus denied access and left knocking on closed doors. The opening verses of the Tuesday liturgy read as follows: “Brethren, let us love the Bridegroom and prepare our lamps with care, shining with virtues and right faith; that, like the wise virgins of the Lord, we might be ready to enter with Him into the wedding feast.”¹¹⁹

The maidens in the standard *eisodos* scenes could be linked with the symbolism of the liturgy for Holy Tuesday. They convey the idea that salvation could only be attained in purity and spiritual preparation. In the Tuesday procession of the Hodegetria icon the same idea of salvation is expressed through the presence of the maidens, the golden icons, and the shimmering silks and



Figure 93
Mosaic of the *eisodos* of Mary,
church of the Koimesis, Daphni,
twelfth century. Photographic
Archive of the Benaki Museum.

flickering oil lamps and torches. Moreover, the panel named “She Who Leads the Way” guides people on the path to God; and as do the five wise virgins, this icon ensures the entry of the faithful into the chambers of paradise.

The association of icon *litaniai*, especially the weekly Hodegetria procession, with the symbolism of Mary’s *eisodos* is made clear in a fourteenth-century bilateral processional panel from the Peribleptos church in Ohrid, Macedonia.¹²⁰ The panel features a “hodegetria”-type Virgin identified with the epithet *Peribleptos*, meaning “admired by all observers,” on the front and a scene of the Presentation to the Temple on the back.¹²¹ On the one hand, the name *Peribleptos* refers to Mary’s beauty, which also features prominently in the homilies on the *eisodos*. On the other, the epithet is related to the name of the church where the icon was housed. As the icon carrying the dedicatory name of the church, the panel was the focus of the ceremonies on the feast day of the foundation. Judging from the scene of the *eisodos* featured at the backside of the icon, this feast took place on November 21, the day of the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple.

The conduct of icon processions as ritual enactment of Mary’s *eisodos* persisted even in the Late Byzantine period. Any procession with the Hodegetria

icon was a temporal manifestation of the sacred story. A fifteenth-century sermon written by the monk Joseph Bryennios (1350–1431) confirms this conclusion.¹²² The Hodegetria icon was brought to the Chora monastery, situated close to the walls, during the siege of Constantinople by Murad II in 1422. Upon the lifting of the siege, the icon was escorted back to its own church at the Hodegon. This procession was compared to a series of Old Testament types, from the carrying of the Ark of the Covenant to a vision of Mary's *eisodos*.¹²³

Ἡ Σκηνὴ τοῦ Μαρτυρίου ποτέ, ἐκ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους, εἰς τὸ Σιών ὄρος μεταφερομένη, σταυροειδῶς ταῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων φυλαῖς παρεπέμπετο· καὶ Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ γων ἀπὸ Σηλώμ, ἐνδεδυμένος Βαδδὶν· καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχων ψαλτήριον ᾗσεν αὐτῇ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεισόδιον, ἐχόρευεν, ἐσκίρτησεν, ἤλατο πρὸ ταύτης ἐνθουσιῶν, καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενος Πνεύματι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς Σολομών, εἰς τὸ Δαβὴρ τοῦ οἴκου, τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια ταύτην εἰσαγαγὼν, καὶ προτυπῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, πάντα φιλοτιμώτατα τὸν βασιλεῖον αὐτοῦ περικείμενος κόσμον, καὶ τὴν ἐπτάφωτον λυχνίαν φέρων, περιφανῶς αὐτῆς προηγῆσατο· ἔκτε τῆς πατρῶου οἰκείας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Σιών τριετοῦς ἀπιούσης, ψαλμικῶς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πολλῇ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει, θαλαμευόμεναι κόραι, παρθέναι λαμπαδηφόροι ὀπίσσωσον ἔδραμον· καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς Ζαχαρίας χερσὶ σε ὑπταίς προσηνῶς ὑπεδέξατο· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην πάσαι τετέλεσται· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν Κωνσταντίνουπόλει γεγόμενα οἶα· ὁ μέγας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἄκρος Ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ πᾶν τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα· Βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ βασιλέως υἱοί; Ἀρχοντες Ἀρχόντων, καὶ πάντες οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ; μονασταὶ καὶ μιγάδες, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ νεώτεροι, παρθέναι καὶ χῆραι, καὶ αἱ ὑπὸ ζυγόν, ὅσον ἡμεδαπὸν, καὶ ὅσον παρεπίδημον, πᾶς ὁ περιούσιος οὗτος λαὸς σου τὸ χριστῶνυμον ἔθνος καὶ ἅγιον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ζώντων χώρας εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ὁδηγῶν τῆς σῆς εἰκόνης ἐπανιούσης, λαμπαδηφόρος μεθ' ὕμνων ἐπινικίων, κύκλωθεν ταύτην περιστοιχῶν, ἐλιτάνευσεν. (From Bryennios, *Opera*, in *Ioseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, 409–10)

Once upon a time the tabernacle of testimony [Mosaic tablets of the law],¹²⁴ transported from Mount Sinai to Mount Zion, was carried by the Jewish people as if it were the cross.¹²⁵ And when transferring the tabernacle of the Law of the Lord from Selom to Jerusalem, the king and prophet David, dressed in fine linen¹²⁶ and with the harp in his hands, sang to it a beautiful processional tune; being inspired and rejoicing in the Holy Spirit, he danced, jumped, leapt up before it [the Ark of the Covenant].¹²⁷ Moreover, his child

Solomon led it into the oracle of the house, which is to the Holy of Holies,¹²⁸ and prefiguring the future things, he was most honorably dressed in all imperial *regalia*, and carrying a candelabrum with seven candles, he proudly walked in front of it [the Ark of the Covenant]. When you [the Virgin] went from her father's house to the Holy Sion at the age of three in much happiness and joy, according to the psalms, unwed maidens followed behind you carrying candles as if in a wedding procession. And the famous Zacharias with his two outstretched hands piously received you. And these were the things that happened in olden times in Palestine. But what are the events that take place now in Constantinople? The great and high priest of the *oikoumene* and all the royal priesthood around him,¹²⁹ the emperor himself and his sons, the highest authorities, and all the chosen people,¹³⁰ monks and laymen, old and young, virgins and widows, and married women, as many natives as foreigners, this entire people of your Christ's-name-bearing nation, the holy one, walked in procession singing hymns of victory and carrying candles as your icon returned from the Place of the Living [the Chora monastery] to the Hodegon monastery, surrounding it [the icon] all around.

The excerpt brings allusions from the Old and New Testament processions and superimposes them on the perception of the historical event. Bryennios draws a link connecting the Ark of the Covenant, the three-year-old Virgin, and the Hodegetria icon. Once again, the image of Mary's *eisodos* is presented as the type through which to perceive and respond to the actual procession with the Hodegetria icon. The establishment of the Tuesday *litania* and its increasing prominence in the second half of the eleventh century gradually transformed this panel into one of the most powerful icons in the empire. The Hodegetria thus disrupted the balance of power in the network of Marian sanctuaries in the capital.



The Blachernai Responds *The Icon of the “Usual Miracle”*

5

Before the rise of the Hodegon, the Blachernai was indisputably the most important sanctuary of the Theotokos in the city. As demonstrated in the earlier chapters of this book, this was the site where imperial power and Marian devotion intersected. Already in the last quarter of the sixth century a special ceremony called a *presbeia* (intercession) had been established at the site; it included an *agrypnia* and a *litania*. The weekly procession (on Fridays) started at the Blachernai and terminated at the Chalkoprateia, thus linking the two major Marian monasteries in Constantinople. The ceremony was modeled after the *litania* from Holy Sion to Gethsemene.¹ In the period after Iconoclasm, the Friday ritual included an icon leading the procession: a *signon tes presbeias*.² In the mid-eleventh century, however, another ceremony, also inserted into the Friday *presbeia* program, developed at the Blachernai. Called *synethes thauma*, or “usual miracle,” it consisted in the lifting of a silk veil that covered an icon of the Theomator; at the appointed moment the cloth miraculously rose, revealing the painted image beneath, and remained suspended until Saturday morning. Many people gathered in the church in order to witness the miracle. The *synethes thauma* was meant to invigorate public interest in the Blachernai and help it maintain its preeminent position in the city.

THE ORIGINS AND DISSEMINATION OF A NEW IMAGE TYPE

The Blachernai promoted a Marian panel with a novel iconography showing the Virgin orans with a hovering medallion of Christ on her chest (fig. 94).³



Figure 94
Gold coin (*histamenon*) of
Empresses Zoe and Theodora
minted in 1042. Byzantine
Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

This visual formula conflates two preexisting types: a single figure of the Theotokos with arms raised in an intercessory gesture (fig. 40) and a Virgin holding a medallion with the Christ Child inside (fig. 46).⁴ The resulting schema is paradoxical; the Theometor does not physically carry the Child, but displays a medallion supernaturally levitating on her chest

(fig. 94). She and the infant are engaged in an abstract dialogue; the Mother of God raises her hands in prayer, while the Child responds by blessing.

The iconographic type is known in modern scholarship under the name *Episkepsis*, meaning “visitation”/“protection.”⁵ Yet the Byzantines never exclusively associated a particular term with the new image type. By virtue of its location, it was a *Blachernitissa*. This term and *Panagiotissa* (“all holy”) are the earliest attested appellations associated with this image type.⁶ The term *Episkepsis* shows up for the first time on a quite different image of the Theometor, in which she holds the Child in front of her chest.⁷ Only in the thirteenth century is there evidence for the pairing of *Episkepsis* with the iconographic type of the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion.⁸ To complicate matters further, the image type received new names in the post-Byzantine period; it was called *Znamenie*, the Russian word for “sign,” starting in the fifteenth century,⁹ and *Platytera tou ouranou*, meaning “wider than heaven,” in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Both appellations became quite popular and often worked to the exclusion of the other terms. The later names are not rooted in the original icon and its cult at the Blachernai. *Blachernitissa* remains the only valid term, but it is imprecise because it also identifies four other iconographic types.¹¹

The first known example of the Virgin orans with the hovering medallion appears on an extremely rare gold coin of the empresses Zoe and Theodora minted in 1042 (fig. 94).¹² However, the new image type never acquired wide distribution on coins. It surfaced on a few limited issues: the silver coinage of Alexios I Komnenos from the pre-reform period (1081–92) (fig. 95),¹³ the coins of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85) and Isaakios II Angelos (1185–95),¹⁴ and the silver coins of Henry III and his father, Conrad II (1046–56), which constitute the only example in the Latin West.¹⁵

By contrast, the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion is extremely popular on lead seals from the last quarter of the eleventh century (see the appendix to this chapter) (fig. 96), of which 311 examples survive.¹⁶ The second in popularity is the Theometor holding in her hands a medallion with Christ, with 232 examples (fig. 46). This statistical evidence shows that the orans Virgin

with the hovering medallion spread quickly once introduced in 1042 and became the most dominant iconographic formula.

THE METAPHOR OF THE THEOMETOR AS A SEAL

The orans Virgin with the hovering medallion had a special resonance in Byzantium because it evoked the well-known metaphor of the Theotokos as the Seal. Mary’s perpetual virginity was compared to an “unbroken seal.” Similarly, the process of the Holy Spirit’s entering matter at the Incarnation was perceived as analogous to the die leaving an imprint on a metal surface.¹⁷ The Byzantines drew a parallel between the seal with the impressed image and the impregnated body of the Theotokos.¹⁸ The seal acquires the relief of the die much as the body of the Virgin received the divine Logos.¹⁹

Byzantine seals are shaped from blanks with channels across their diameters (fig. 97). First the ends of a silk cord are threaded through this channel, and then the metal blank is struck by iron pliers, thus firmly gripping the cord within the metal. The pliers impress an image on the front and an inscription on the back side of the sealing (figs. 98, 99).²⁰

The Byzantines perceived the immaculate nature of the Mother of God through the image of the “unbroken seal” (fig. 96). The metaphor is often present in Byzantine hymnography.²¹ An eleventh-century homily on the Annunciation, written by Psellos, provides an example of this association: “She is a virgin after having become a mother. Through her the Logos entered and exited, and he did not unloosen the lock of virginity, but the seal remained unharmed.”²²

The new image type conveys the concepts of the Incarnation and of incorruptibility in the way the Theometor displays the medallion with the Christ Child without physically supporting it. This iconography alludes to the Virgin’s physical purity. Therefore, when the new image type appeared on seals, it immediately called up the metaphor of the “unbroken seal.” The figure of speech was thus transformed into a physical reality.²³ The Theometor’s power to remain pure and unblemished was now summoned to protect the seal from



Figure 95 (above left)
Silver coin of Emperor Alexios I
Komnenos from the pre-reform
period (1081–92). Byzantine
Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 96 (above right)
Lead seal of Anna Dalassena,
mother of Emperor Alexios I
Komnenos, second half of the
eleventh century. On the
reverse: “Theotoke, help your
servant Anna Dalassena
kouropalissa.” Reproduced
courtesy of the Arthur Sackler
Museum, Harvard University Art
Museums, bequest of Thomas
Whittemore. Byzantine
Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

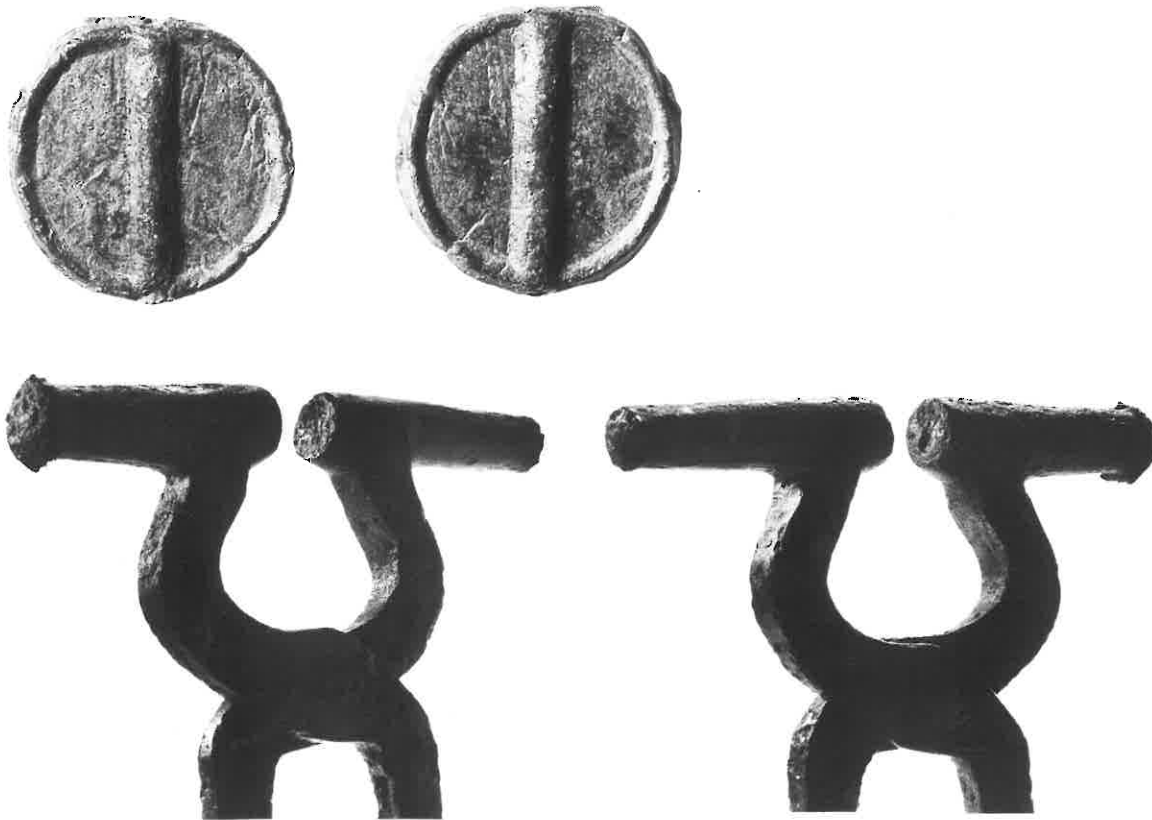


Figure 97 (top)
Lead-seal blank. Byzantine
Collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 98 (above left)
Boulloterion, or iron pliers for
stamping a lead seal, an inner
side showing the die with the
text. Reproduced courtesy of the
Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard
University Art Museums,
bequest of Thomas Whittemore.

Figure 99 (above right)
Boulloterion, an inner side
showing the die with the image.
Reproduced courtesy of the
Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard
University Art Museums,
bequest of Thomas Whittemore.

being broken. Not surprisingly, Marian images were very popular on Byzantine seals, for their presence guarded the writing and assured that the seal would remain intact.

The allusion to the moment of the Incarnation is confirmed by some of the inscriptions on the seals, which read: "Mother of the Logos, close the words of the superior of the holy mountain Ganos";²⁴ "Mother of the divinely human Logos, protect me, the *sebastos* Hetoum of the family of the Oshin";²⁵ and "You who have given birth to Emmanuel, protect Manuel."²⁶ All three inscriptions play on the notion of the Incarnation and the image of the Theotokos as the seal. In the first text the image of the Mother of God "sealed" with the Logos (the Word) in turn guards the words of the owner, the *protos* of the holy mountain Ganos in Thrace. The second inscription summons the Theotokos for protection on account of her special power already manifested in the way she incarnated the two natures of Christ: the divine and human Logos. The same idea is expressed in the third inscription; the Theotokos who has conceived the divinely human Emmanuel is now implored to protect the owner, Manuel. By speaking of the Incarnation, all three inscriptions invoke the purity of the Virgin. She is summoned to protect the writing of the owners with her unblemished nature or, metaphorically, with her power to remain the "unbroken seal."

The connection between die and seal is metaphorically linked to the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Incarnate Logos. The image on the die is reversed and unreadable, yet the moment it is struck on the seal, it becomes visible (fig. 99). Similarly, the Logos becomes visible only when it is invested into the body of the Theotokos. The act of imprinting finds a parallel in the act of conceiving.²⁷ The supernatural phenomenon is thus perceived through the familiar experience of imprinting a metal surface with a die.²⁸ The seals displaying the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion bring object, metaphor, and representation into one plane. The image of the Incarnation is physically impressed on the object of metaphoric comparison when the seal is struck (fig. 96).

EMPSYCHOS GRAPHE: IMAGES INHABITED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT

In addition to providing a visual expression of a socially recognized metaphor, the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion also answered a particular expectation of images current at the time. The new trend in Byzantine art is known as *empsychos graphe*, traditionally translated as "living painting." Hans Belting interpreted the term as connoting naturalistic, more accessible painting that offered a visual expression to rhetorical figures of speech and complex theological dogma.²⁹ In the current interpretation rhetorical eloquence is paired with naturalism. Yet the example of the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion



Figure 100
Copper pattern for a gold coin (*histamenon*) of the empress Zoe minted in 1041. Christ *Antiphonites* on the obverse. On the reverse side the empress with the inscription "Zoe Augusta." Zoe had a personal devotional image of Christ *Antiphonites* and also built a monastery in his name, where she was eventually buried. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

challenges this notion; the image is highly rhetorical without being naturalistic. It is therefore necessary to expand the concept of *empsychos graphe* beyond naturalism and even rhetoric.

The emergence of *empsychos graphe* also needs to be associated with the renewed interest in Neoplatonism in Byzantine culture in the eleventh century. According to this philosophical trend, the image was expected to manifest the presence of the divine through some material change (in color, shape, or smell). As such, the term *empsychos graphe* should be translated as "inspirited" painting, referring to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the image, and not just as "living painting" (the standard translation deflects attention away from the Byzantine Neoplatonic expectations and betrays instead the modern concern with naturalism and emotional expressivity). The alternative reading of *empsychos* as "inspirited" conforms to the way the Byzantine viewers interacted with the image.³⁰ They frequently named *empsychoi* representations that manifested divine presence through clear and perceptible physical changes regardless of their style of painting.

The icon of Christ *Antiphonites* ("guarantor" or "he who responds"), owned by the empress Zoe (1028–50), offers an example of this type of "inspirited" image (fig. 100). The image conveyed its miraculous nature by changing its surface colors.³¹ Zoe's contemporary, Psellos, wrote the following:

She [Zoe] had made for herself an image of Jesus, fashioning it with as much accuracy as she could (if such a thing were possible). The little figure, embellished with bright metal, appeared to be almost living, *emphnous*.³² By changes of color it answered questions put to it, and by its various tints foretold coming events. Anyway, Zoe made several prophecies with regard to the future from a study of this image. So, when she had met with some good fortune, or when some trouble had befallen her, she would at once consult her image, in the one case to acknowledge her gratitude, in the other to beg its favor. I myself have often seen her, in moments of great distress, clasp the sacred object in her hands, contemplate it, talk to it as though it were indeed alive, *empsychos*, and address it with one sweet term of endearment after another. Then at other times I have seen her lying on the ground, her tears bathing the earth, while she beat her breasts over and over again, tearing at them with her hands. If she saw the image turn pale, she would go away crestfallen, but if it took on a fiery red color, its halo lustrous with a beautiful radiant light, she would lose no time in telling the emperor and prophesying what the future was to bring forth.³³

Zoe's *Antiphonites* was considered by her contemporaries to be *empsychos*, "alive." The extant copies inscribed with the name show Christ raising one

hand in a gesture of speech and holding a gospel book in the other (fig. 101).³⁴ Judging from these copies of the *Antiphonites*, there was nothing naturalistic or emotional in it (figs. 100, 101). Yet the way the prototype responded in changing its colors offered the much-awaited spectacle of divine presence: an *empsychos graphe*.

The term refers to the Spirit's manifesting itself in the image: a Neoplatonic definition. Not surprisingly, many of the accounts of *empsychoi* images were written by Michael Psellos, a representative of the Neoplatonic circle of intellectuals in eleventh-century Constantinople. He conveyed his philosophical leanings in both his description of Zoe's *Antiphonites* and in his record about the Blachernai miracle.³⁵ Similarly, in his account of the *synthes thauma*, which I discuss in detail later on, he remarked that after the curtain was miraculously lifted by the Spirit, "the image of the Theotokos received her animated visit in person, marking the invisible through the visible."³⁶ The miracle expressed in a visible form the presence of the invisible divine through the lifting of the cloth and the perceptible change in the shape of the Theomator.

Psellos's descriptions of *empsychoi* images betray his familiarity with the treatise "On Providence" written by the fifth-century Neoplatonic philosopher Proklos. Proklos argued for the existence of a correspondence between the invisible and the visible worlds:

Just as lovers, proceeding from the beauties of the senses [outer appearance], arrive at the one source of the spiritual beauties itself,



Figure 101
Mosaic icon of Christ *Antiphonites*, ca. 1065, on the southeastern pier of the Koimesis church, Nikaia.

so the people involved with the divine affairs [the priests], apprehending everything in everything from the affinity of all the visible things to each other and to the invisible powers, founded the hieratic science upon marveling at seeing in the first things the last things and in the last things the first things, in the heaven the earthly things naturally in a heavenly way, and in the earth the heavenly things in an earthly way.³⁷

The text implies that one can read in the changes of the physical world the corresponding changes and presence of the invisible divine forces. Thus one proceeds from physical seeing—the material forms—to a level of spiritual seeing.³⁸ The *empsychos graphe* expresses the same approach to seeing; by viewing the physical changes, one discerns the presence of the invisible divine and proceeds to a higher level of spiritual seeing. The color change in Zoe's *Antiphonites*, and the lifting of the veil and the transformation in the shape of the Mother of God during the Blachernai miracle, were all outward physical changes through which the invisible divine spirit manifested itself. All these *empsychoi* occurrences expressed a Neoplatonic perception of the visible world.

The *empsychoi* images offer an analogy to the Incarnation. They show the presence of the divine much as the Incarnation shows the entrance of the Holy Spirit into the body of the Theometor. With its descent, it "in-Spirits" matter. Similarly, images depicting the Incarnation function as *empsychoi graphai* because they give visible form to the process of "in-Spiriting matter." The orans Virgin with the hovering medallion, even though it displays an abstract image of the Incarnation, functions as an *empsychos graphe*. Only the presence of the Holy Spirit can explain the miraculous way in which the medallion rests on the Theometor's chest.³⁹ The new image type manifests a supernatural presence not through an outward action or some naturalistic style of representation but through its abstract iconography.

In interpreting *empsychos* through the lens of Neoplatonism, we can expand our understanding of what the Byzantines understood by this term: images that showed divine presence through some physical change or iconography or style, as well as representations that eloquently conveyed complex figures of speech or theological dogma. This fascination with matter in the second half of the eleventh century could eventually have led to the development of a naturalistic style.⁴⁰ Yet naturalism and rhetorical eloquence were not the only reasons for defining an image as *empsychos*.

CARNAL LOGOS OR THE VISIBLE BODY OF CHRIST

The interconnection between matter and spirit at the center of the concept of *empsychos graphe* is also revealed in the theological writings of Leo, bishop of

Chalcedon at the end of the eleventh century.⁴¹ Leo maintained a radical position on religious representation. His defense of images was prompted by his long conflict (1082–94) with the emperor Alexios I Komnenos. The bishop opposed the imperial policy of raising funds for military campaigns by confiscating church property. On the one hand, Leo's extreme statements were intended to protect Church property against infringement from the state; on the other, his views reflect a particular contemporary trend toward the veneration of images.

Leo was the first to draw attention to the relationship between the image of the divine and the material on which it appears. According to him, the icon is the visible and "living" form of Christ, carrying his divinity, inscribed on matter. This visible form is indivisible from Christ's divinity, and it brings his sanctity to the material. Matter is only the vehicle through which the form becomes visible. While the image receives true worship, the material is accorded relative veneration.⁴² As such, matter is elevated and given honor. Moreover, the material is inhabited by the divine, and vice versa, the divine image is embodied in a physical form and transformed into a *carnal logos*, or "embodied word."⁴³

It is through the Incarnation that the divine becomes present in the human body of Christ. The new image type of the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion offers an example of this phenomenon. The divine has been embodied in a human form; yet, at the same time, the Child is separated from the material world by the aura of the medallion (figs. 94, 96). Through this simple device, a representation of a child set within a medallion, the new image type conveys the coexistence of the human and divine natures in Christ. Similarly, the way the medallion hovers on the Theometor's chest gives a visual expression of the belief in the virgin mother. The Child is supernaturally invested into her body. The Virgin does not carry an infant, yet she has conceived one; she knows no man, yet she bears a child. In the new image type, belief is entirely expressed through material forms: Christ is both human and divine, and the Theotokos a virgin and a mother. The surreal and supernatural are embodied in material and visible forms, enabling the Logos to speak through the body.

The orans Virgin with the hovering medallion offered a dogmatic and hierarchical iconographic formula, which deeply affected contemporary narrative images of the Annunciation (figs. 102, 103, 104). The two surviving examples from Mount Sinai and Novgorod date to the twelfth century; yet most likely similar representations existed already in the eleventh century.⁴⁴ In both examples an image of the Christ Child is painted on the chest of the Panagia. On the Sinai icon, the infant is depicted in faint grisaille surrounded by a mandorla (fig. 103), while on the Novgorod panel the infant rendered in crimson red is painted directly on the body of the Theometor (fig. 104). With some

iconographic and theological variations, both icons have evoked the image type of the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion.

Moreover, in both panels the act of spinning performed by the Theotokos is juxtaposed to the act of conceiving the body of Christ.⁴⁵ On the Sinai icon, the Theometor touches the mandorla with her hand holding the string of spun wool (fig. 103).⁴⁶ On the Novgorod panel the Mother of God surrounds the infant with a crimson cord (fig. 104). Both images reveal the analogy between the weaving of the Temple curtain and that of the flesh of Christ, which in turn opens the parallel between the Annunciation and the Crucifixion. The Theometor embodies the Logos in the "flesh" of the purple wool. Likewise, when the human nature of Christ dies on the cross, this death is expressed by the metaphor of the tearing of the Temple curtain.⁴⁷ By depicting the Logos in the shape of a child, and by engaging the metaphor of the curtain/flesh, the two icons offer the viewer the opportunity to see the "embodied" salvific plan from beginning to end: from the Annunciation to the Crucifixion.⁴⁸

Figure 102

Icon of the Annunciation, monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, late twelfth century. Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.

THE ICON OF THE "USUAL MIRACLE" OF THE BLACHERNAI IN THE WRITTEN SOURCES

A similar juxtaposition of Incarnation and Crucifixion is present in the symbolism of the "usual miracle" at the Blachernai.⁴⁹ The supernatural event displayed a material reenactment of the Incarnation. Two Byzantine sources are connected with the event: an account of the discovery of an ancient icon at the Blachernai by Skylitzes and a description of the miracle by Psellos. Skylitzes wrote the following:⁵⁰

While renovating the sanctuary of the Blachernai, he [the emperor Romanos III Argyros, (1028–34)] discovered an old icon hung [on the wall], which he ordered to be renewed. Seeing that the plaster of the wall was bulging,⁵¹ he ordered it to be demolished. By demolishing the plaster, an icon painted on wood was discovered: a wooden panel of the Theotokos carrying our Lord and God in front of her chest. It has remained intact from the times of Kopronymos; three hundred years have passed until the present day.⁵²

The iconography of this second panel has been deciphered by Werner Seibt and recently by Martin Schulz as a Virgin holding a medallion with the Christ Child in front of her chest (fig. 46).⁵³

This visual schema of the Theotokos holding a medallion with the Christ Child transforms in Psellos's description into a Mother of God with arms open to embrace the people inside her, into a "new sanctuary and inviolate refuge."⁵⁴ Psellos recorded the miracle at the Blachernai in 1075 as follows.⁵⁵

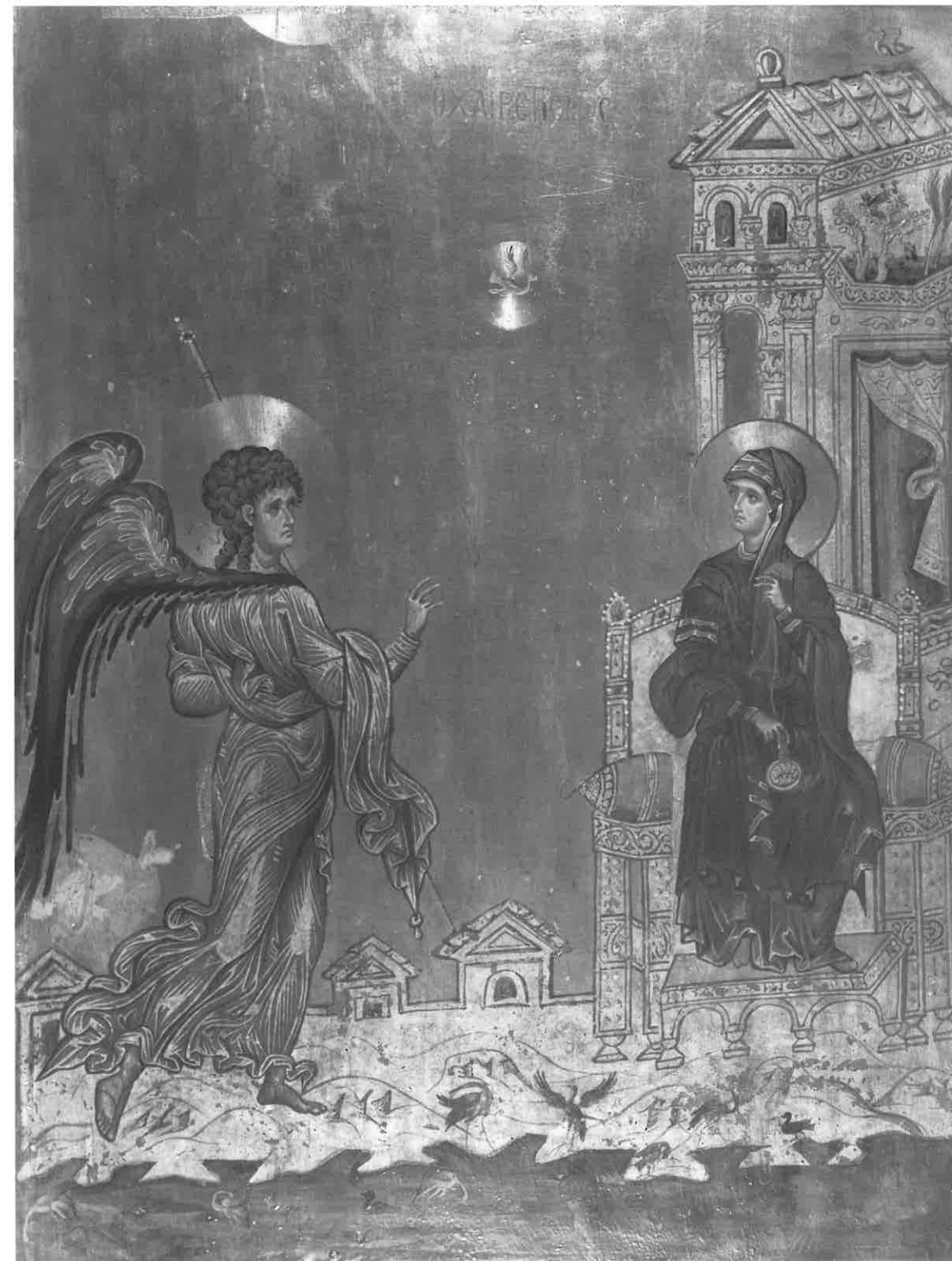




Figure 103
Icon of the Annunciation,
monastery of St. Catherine on
Mount Sinai, late twelfth
century, detail showing the
image of Christ painted in faint
grisaille on Mary's chest.
Reproduced courtesy of the
Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria
Expedition to Mount Sinai.

The doors are opened, and entry is given to the ones who stand in front of the temple. And as they enter in a mixture of fear and joy, the veil on the icon lifts itself up in front of the crowds, as if raised by the Spirit. And this event seems incredible for those who did not see it, yet, for those who saw it, it is paradoxical and clearly a descent of the Holy Spirit. Together with this occurrence, the shape of the Virgin changes, I believe, having received her [the Virgin's] animated *empsychos* visit, marking the invisible with the visible. On the one hand, with respect to her Son and God hanging from the cross, the temple curtain is torn apart in order to reveal to us the truth hidden by the symbols, or to summon the believers inside the innermost sanctuary, or to destroy the walls separating us from the intimacy with our God. On the other hand, with respect to the Mother of God, the holy cloth mysteriously lifts itself up so that she would embrace inside her the entering crowd as if into a new sanctuary and inviolate refuge.⁵⁶

According to Psellos, during the miracle the icon of the Theotokos and Child became animated as the image received the visit of the Theometor herself. The Mother of God then opened her arms to embrace the people in the church, offering them a "new sanctuary" and "inviolable refuge."⁵⁷ The image of the Theotokos was seen to change from one holding a medallion with the Christ Child to a one with arms spread open and a medallion hovering on her chest. The new image type offered a visual expression of the way the miracle was perceived.⁵⁸

A more detailed account of the miracle is offered in a Latin text:

At the Blachernai complex there are two churches: a basilica and a small rotunda; the small rotunda is also made of marble; the two are linked so that one can easily pass from one to the other. In the small one [the rotunda] there is the holy and venerable golden icon of the Theotokos, holding the Son, whom she was blessed to bear. In connection with this icon a famous miracle happens every week. Although different things are said about it by many people, I, however, have seen it with my own eyes not once but many times, so I will take care to report it truthfully, adding no falsehood anywhere. This holy icon of the Theotokos is covered from the waist down by a veil attached on either side by two nails. Thus half of the icon is visible, from the waist up, that is, the chest and the head. The other half is concealed, from the waist down, covered, as I have said, by a silken veil. On the sixth day [Friday], around sunset, as many peo-



Figure 104
Icon of the Annunciation, twelfth
century. The Logos/Christ is
imprinted on the Virgin's chest.
Scala/Art Resource, New York.

ple as possible gather at the aforementioned church, men and women, and also clergy and priests. And just as on the Holy Sabbath at Easter in the city of Jerusalem those who are present wait in hope of seeing the fire descending from above, in the same way on the appointed day the people of Constantinople stand in front of the holy icon, waiting and hoping that the veil will lift by the grace of God as usual. As the hour approaches in which the divine miracles ought to take place, they strike a wooden board to summon the congregation to the church, for the Greeks do not have any other summons for this kind of service.⁵⁹ It is not because there is a lack of bronze or metal among the Greeks for conveying the summons in the Latin manner, but the Greeks do it like this, so they say, following the example of the apostles, who on account of fear of the pagans would strike a wooden board in secret at the houses of the Christian congregation so that at this signal they would hurry to church. So at this signal they all gathered in the church in front of the holy icon of the Theotokos, the clergy singing and the laity praying. They piously call upon the great works of the omnipotent God to grant that the usual miracles be performed. You would see there people of both sexes in such numbers, and feel such a crush of people, that if you were there in the nude during the winter, you would hardly be able to stand the heat. You would hear sweet-sounding strains of human voices celebrating the glory of the Theotokos. In addition, the priest, in the vestments he wears for celebrating mass, goes around the altar and the holy icon several times with a golden censer full of incense. What more should I say! While the clergy is singing and the people are praying, the veil that covers half of the icon lifts up by the grace of God, showing the half of the image it had concealed before.⁶⁰

The Latin pilgrim states that the image of the Theometor was revealed from the waist up and concealed from the waist down. The silk veil was affixed with two nails to the board. This manner of veiling is rather strange; all the other textual references to curtains, such as the *Liber Pontificalis*, recording the activities of the popes in Rome from Peter up to the late ninth century, routinely describe the veils as either placed directly on the icons or on curtain rods in front of the panels.⁶¹ Similarly, all the surviving representations of icons with veils show the cloth placed on top of the icon, falling down to cover the image, as does, for example, a fourteenth-century miniature from the Hamilton Psalter (Berlin, Hamilton Psalter, MS 78 A 9, fol. 39v) (fig. 105).⁶² Here the cloth is rolled up and festooned on the top, displaying the painted panel underneath.



Figure 105
Miniature showing the
veneration of an icon, Hamilton
Psalter, MS 78 A 9, fol. 39v,
ca. 1300. Kupferstichkabinett,
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—
Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Jörg P.
Anders.

The icon Psellos saw was completely covered by a silk cloth with woven or embroidered images.⁶³ When the miracle was enacted, the veil was perhaps rolled up in order to reveal the icon underneath.⁶⁴ The icon was most likely the same miraculous panel discovered in the apse in 1030/31, as recorded by Skylitzes.⁶⁵ But the current Neoplatonic understanding of images as “animated” enabled the Byzantine viewer to see a transformation in the icon of Mary from holding a medallion to opening her arms. This Neoplatonic perception found pictorial expression in the emergence of the new image type of the Theotokos orans with a hovering medallion on her chest.⁶⁶ The Latin pilgrim did not grasp this current Byzantine attitude toward images.

In Psellos’s description, the veiled icon also evokes the metaphor of the Annunciation and the Crucifixion. The Incarnate Logos is perceived through the image of the blood-red

curtain/flesh woven by the Theometor,⁶⁷ while the Crucifixion and Christ’s death on the cross are seen in the image of the torn temple curtain. Similarly, at the Blachernai event the veil lifted in front of the image makes reference both to the Incarnation, when the salvific plan becomes visible in the material body of the divine Child, and to the Crucifixion, when Christ discards the human body at the cross and transforms into a divine savior. Both the Blachernai miracle and the metaphor of the curtain/flesh relate to the notion of the visibility of the salvific plan and to the Neoplatonic concept of *empsychos graphē*, where the invisible divine is made manifest through a physical form or action. While the Latin pilgrim is silent about this rich semantic core, the Byzantine writer Psellos leads his audience to the higher level of spiritual seeing.

So far scholars have overlooked the connection between the wide dissemination of the new image type of the Virgin with the hovering medallion and the Blachernai *synthes thauma* because they have considered only the evidence of

coins and monumental painting. The numismatic evidence gives only three examples, while no extensive fresco or mosaic art survives from the capital. Yet the sigillographic evidence suggests a different picture. The new image type on seals exceeds by far all the other iconographic formulas in the last quarter of the eleventh century (see the appendix to this chapter). Through the “usual” miracle and its “unusual” depiction, the Blachernai reclaimed its position as the pre-eminent Marian site in Constantinople. The new iconography picturing the miracle emerged from the new perception of images spreading in the mid-eleventh century, a period of intellectual freedom and intensified pursuits in philosophy, literature, and law.⁶⁸ In a time when panel-centered Marian devotion became established in Constantinople, the discovered icon (the Theotokos holding the medallion), the “usual miracle,” and its pictorial depiction (the Theometor with arms spread and a medallion of Christ hovering on her chest) assured the leading position of the Blachernai.

Appendix

The wide dissemination of the orans Virgin with the hovering medallion on seals is demonstrated for the first time here through a survey of the major publications; the total number of objects with the new image type is counted, and their distribution is determined vis-à-vis other common iconographic formulas. Furthermore, the present survey includes new examples that have been missed in the indexes of published seals and revises the dates for a number of seals.

TABLE A

Collections/Publications	Virgin orans with a hovering medallion	Virgin holding the medallion in her hands	Virgin orans with hands in front of her chest
Zacos I	12	6	1
Zacos II	58	56	30
Laurent, <i>Église</i>	120	86	35
Laurent, <i>Adm. centr.</i>	43	32	7
Laurent, <i>Église, Supplément</i>	31	25	6
Seibt, <i>Österreich</i>	11	2	1
Cheyne, <i>Seyrig</i>	22	19	9
Sode, <i>Byz. Bleisiegel</i>	6	2	0
Seibt/Zarnitz, <i>Byz. Bleisiegel</i>	8	4	7
TOTAL	311	232	96

Zacos I: nos. 89, 2682a, b, 2695a, b, c, 2712, 2716, 2719 (full length), 2720a, b, c, 2720bis, 2729 (full length), 2735, 2740 (full length), 2746. These seals belonged to members of the imperial family. The earliest seal in this group is

that of Anna Dalassena, dated to 1067–81, Zacos I, 2695a, b, c. The majority of the rest are from the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries. Three seals, which show the same type but in full length, belong to the second half of the twelfth century.

Zacos II: nos. 58, 363, 364, 365, 367, 369, 385, 386, 411, 415, 419 (full length), 436, 445, 450, 461, 473, 475, 486, 499, 508, 521, 522, 528, 547, 565, 574, 578 (full length), 581 (full length), 582, 605, 610, 620 (full length), 621, 639, 640, 645, 662, 676, 679, 684, 687, 688, 694, 696, 742, 746, 750, 751, 763, 764, 769, 782, 783, 788, 806 (full length), 823 (full length), 838 (full length), 839. Based on the iconography, style, and the comparison with securely dated examples, the seals can be dated from the early 1070s to the twelfth century.

Laurent, *Église*: nos. 59, 67, 68, 71, 94 (full length), 108, 110, 131, 221, 234, 239, 281, 282, 293 (full length), 311, 312 (full length), 315, 317, 319, 321, 340, 355, 362, 410, 418, 438, 508, 531 (full length), 533, 570, 641, 669, 711, 746, 750, 757, 758, 760, 761, 774, 788, 792 (full length), 794, 795, 796, 798 (full length), 799, 801, 805, 807, 815 (full length), 816, 819, 838, 850, 867, 869, 873, 1046, 1078, 1150bis, 1151, 1152, 1177, 1181, 1189, 1182, 1188, 1191, 1229, 1234, 1237, 1240, 1242, 1244, 1245, 1247, 1255, 1295bis, 1296, 1305, 1308, 1311, 1313, 1316, 1341, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1352, 1357, 1358, 1377, 1382, 1383, 1386, 1405, 1408, 1419, 1428, 1442, 1456, 1460, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1468, 1471, 1472, 1475, 1476, 1501 (full length), 1526, 1542, 1556, 1559, 1571, 1597 (full length), 1599, 1627.

Laurent, *Adm. centr.*: nos. 8, 96, 130, 131, 134, 150, 174, 194, 207, 253 (full length), 254, 329, 346, 429, 434, 438, 502, 550, 671, 672, 673, 707, 802, 808 (full length), 813, 816, 829, 843, 859, 884 (full length), 895, 896, 904, 912, 968, 1034, 1046 (full length), 1081, 1086, 1113 (full length), 1132, 1187, 1199.

Laurent, *Église, Supplément*: nos. 1599, 1600, 1649, 1650, 1651 (full length), 1652, 1676, 1705, 1751, 1771, 1781, 1789 (full length), 1790, 1791 (full length, flanked by two saints), 1796, 1816, 1892, 1898, 1908, 1929, 1936, 1949, 1952, 1961, 1965, 1991, 1997, 2002, 2011bis, 2020. The seals belong to people from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The earliest securely dated seal is that of Anna Dalassena, struck in the period 1067–81; see Laurent, *Église*, no. 1460. Laurent dated several seals as early as the tenth century; however, the iconography, style, and the comparison with dated examples argue for a much later date, such as the last quarter of the eleventh century. Laurent, *Église*: nos. 293, 362, 410, 669, 873, 1237, 1240, 1243, 1244, 1349, 1405, 1599, 1949, 1952, 2002. Laurent dated seal no. 1650 to the early twelfth century, yet the caption mistakenly reads early eleventh century.

Seibt, *Österreich*: seven seals dated to the 1060s–1080s: nos. 88, 103, 119a, b, 142, 149, 150, 210; and four seals dated after the 1080s: 65, 115, 117, 171.

Cheyne, *Seyrig*: nos. 41, 43, 49, 65, 86, 112, 113, 231, 232, 264, 283, 290, 294, 298, 300, 302, 313, 315, 318, 321, 333, 381. Only three seals are dated as early as 1075, nos. 290, 294, 313; the rest come from the last quarter of the eleventh century.

Sode, *Byz. Bleisiegel*: nos. 315, 316, 342, 352, 357, 378. These six seals are dated from the end of the eleventh to the twelfth centuries.

Seibt/Zarnitz, *Byz. Bleisiegel*: nos. 1.2.2, 1.2.7, 2.2.1, 3.1.2, 3.1.12, 4.1.3 (full length), 5.3.4, 5.3.9. The earliest of these seven seals dates to 1075 and the latest to the thirteenth century.

ἡ αὐτὴ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφηρεν



ἡ αὐτὴ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφηρεν

Synthesis

Imperial Memorial Rites at the Pantokrator

6

In the mid–eleventh century the line of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) was exhausted, leaving imperial power open to the aspirations of the civil and military aristocracy in Byzantium. Only in 1081 did Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) bring an end to this period of unrest, seize the imperial throne, rebuff the resistance of the civil aristocracy, and establish his family as the new imperial dynasty, which then ruled for more than a century.¹ The Komnenoi quickly capitalized on public ceremonies to promote their imperial cult. The second emperor of this dynasty, John II Komnenos (1118–43), established special commemorative rituals in his newly founded funerary monastery of Christ Pantokrator.² Processions with icons played an important role in the ceremonies he instituted. The new rituals integrated the traditional Friday *presbeia* procession of the Blachernai along with a new *litania* with the Hodegetria icon designed for the annual commemorative services. In this way, the new commemorative rituals synthesized the icon processions of the Blachernai and the Hodegon.

Founded in 1136, the monastic complex of the Pantokrator consisted of three churches as well as a hospital, an old-age house inside a walled enclosure, and a shelter for lepers situated outside the premises.³ The dedication of the monastery to Christ Pantokrator, translated as “ruler over all/everything,” already manifested the idea of power; the term was likely intended to establish a parallel between imperial and divine authority. The institution was richly endowed with numerous land estates. The complex had a monastic church dedicated to Christ Pantokrator on the south side (figs. 106, 107). To the north



Figure 106

Pantokrator monastery, east façade, 1118–36. The Eleousa (“merciful”) church offering public access is on the right, the monastic church of Christ Pantokrator (“ruler over all/everything”) on the left, and the imperial mausoleum placed in between the two. Cyril Mango, *Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives*.

rose the church of the Theotokos *Eleousa*, which offered public access. Connecting these two buildings was the imperial mortuary chapel, called *Heroon*,⁴ dedicated to the archangel Michael. A commemorative liturgy for the deceased emperors took place on Sundays in a closed circle at the monastic church of Christ Pantokrator. Public memorial rites were conducted in the *Eleousa* and the *Heroon* on Friday nights and annually on the day of the emperor’s death.⁵

Until 1028, most of the Byzantine emperors were buried in the two mausolea/*heroa* of the church of the Holy Apostles. Starting with Basil II, the Byzantine emperors stopped using the *heroa* of this complex and started to build instead their own funerary monasteries.⁶ By founding the Pantokrator in 1136, John II Komnenos conformed to the current practice, but he also enabled the subsequent centralization of the Komnenian memorial rite. Meanwhile, nothing prevented the aristocracy or other members of the imperial family from constructing and endowing their own funerary monasteries,⁷ from which John II intended to separate his foundation. His intentions can be gleaned from the name he gave his funerary chapel, the *Heroon*, which not only recalled the

name the old mausoleum at the Holy Apostles but in so doing attempted to supplant it.⁸ In addition, the special memorial ritual he designed revealed his aspirations. I argue that it was the unprecedented introduction of public processions with icons to the memorial rituals at the Pantokrator that offered the clearest expression of the special status of the new imperial foundation.

PROCESSIONS AND INTERCESSION: GAINING A PLACE IN PARADISE

The *typikon* of the Pantokrator manifests an unusual preoccupation with the establishment of ritual commemoration.⁹ While recent scholarship has focused

on the symbolic meaning of the lighting of the church for these memorial services and the use of space, my study directs attention to the processions with Marian icons. The Byzantines believed in the connection between processions and salvation. This perception is clear in a miniature, from the *Kokkinobaphos* manuscript, showing the *litania* on the day of Mary’s *eisodos* (Vat. Cod. Gr. 1162, fol. 62v) (fig. 108). As the train of people moves on, the earth opens up, and from a series of tombs the righteous rise and lift their pleading hands.¹⁰ On the left stand Adam, Eve, and Abel; on the right, Moses, Solomon, David, and Daniel. The angels fluttering in between the two worlds direct their entreaties to the Theomator above. Despite her young age, the girl is just a miniature version of the mature Mother of God. She conveys their prayers to God, who dispenses a blessing from Heaven. The miniature offers reassurance of the Panagia’s power to secure the benevolence of God. In fact, the image bears the title “About the march of the Virgin into the temple as good tidings for the people in Hades.”¹¹ The procession gives a material form to the hope of salvation.

The emergence of the righteous from their tombs conjures up the standard scene of the *Anastasis*. In a typical example, such as the eleventh-century mosaics of Nea Mone in Chios, Christ tramples over the doors of Hades (fig. 109).¹² He holds a cross in one hand, and with the other he pulls Adam out of the grave. On his other side David and Solomon rise from their tombs,

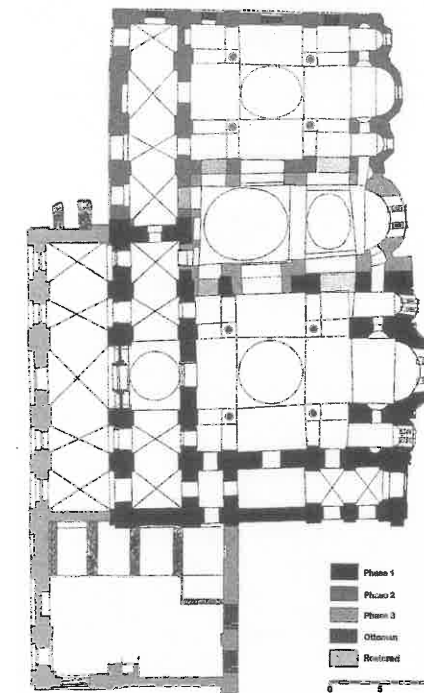
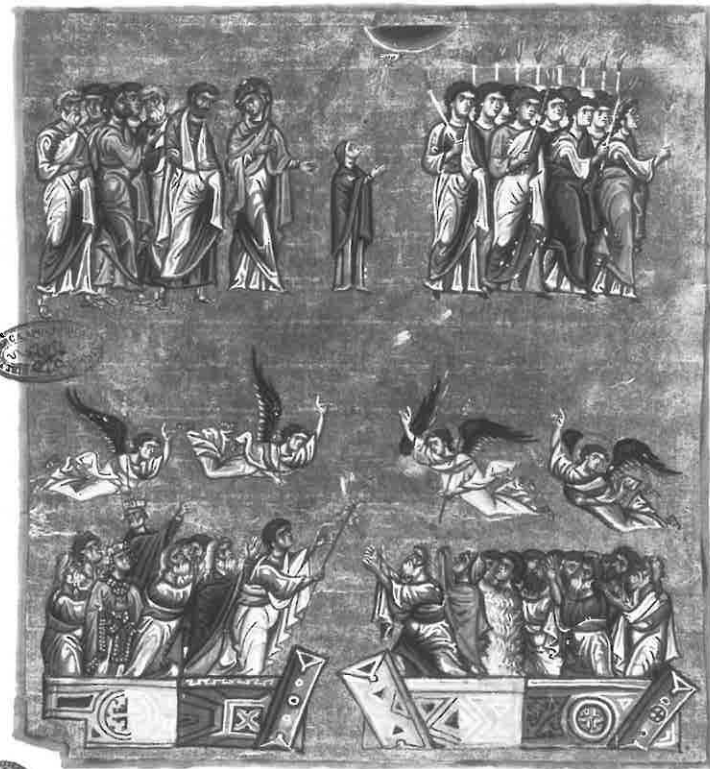


Figure 107

Plan of the Pantokrator monastery, 1118–36. Robert Ousterhout.

✠ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν τῆς παρθένου ἐν δὲ τῇ
τοῖς ἐν δὲ οὐρανῷ

τοῖς καὶ καθ' ὅσον τὸν γινώσκουσιν
μαρτυροῦνται. Κόσμησον τὰς τῶν ἁγίων
ἀλφειὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπερβόαν σκηνὴν ὑποδύναται.



Σήμερον γὰρ ὁσὶν τριβίζοντα δάμαρτος,
εἰς τὴν ἀλφειὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἁγιάσαι. Οὐ



Figure 108 (opposite)
Presentation of the three-year-old Mary in the Temple, homily III of James of Kokkinobaphos, Vat. Cod. Gr. 1162, fol. 62v, twelfth century. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

Figure 109
Mosaic of the Anastasis in the nave of Nea Mone, Chios, 1042–55. Third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Nea Mone, Chios.

ready to be ushered into eternal life. In their position and attitude, the two prophets are similar to the righteous on the Vatican miniature. Through its iconographic similarity to the Anastasis, the illustration from the Kokkinobaphos manuscript has the power to evoke the image of the Resurrection and, with it, the promise of salvation.

The Kokkinobaphos miniature explains in visual terms the importance of processions. By carrying Marian icons and by speaking prayers for mercy, the faithful hoped to obtain a place of rest for the souls of their deceased community members. The beloved dead could be projected onto the images of the righteous risen from their tombs. The miniature of Mary's *eisodos* provides an understanding of the power of public intercession to achieve divine response. It is this power that John II Komnenos harnessed for the first time in order to secure a place of rest for his soul.

THE FRIDAY MEMORIAL SERVICE

As mentioned before, two urban processions were integrated into the memorial services at the Pantokrator complex: the established Friday *presbeia* and a new annual memorial *litania*. The weekly *presbeia*, which took place at the Blachernai, included a night procession from there to the Chalkoprateia.¹³

This Friday *presbeia* was modified to fit its new role in the imperial memorial service as attested by the typikon of the Pantokrator:

On Friday of each week a vigil should take place with the night office when the *signon tes presbeias* [the processional icon leading the Friday *presbeia*]¹⁴ with all the rest preceding and following it, together with all the clergy and people, will be invoked on the way by members of the clergy of the *Eleousa* and will be met with all reverence and fitting honor and in faith brought into the church and all men and women, that is as many as follow these revered *signa*, will make an *ektenes* [prayer], *signa* and people alike in the appropriate order, for the pardon and remission of our sins. *Kyrie eleison* will be repeated fifteen times for each *signon* and then they will go forwards again toward the holy *soros*.¹⁵ Then those taking part will receive for their own consolation twelve *hyperpera nomismata*; this procedure will take place each week and the distribution simultaneously with the departure of the *signa*.¹⁶

Since it was decreed by us that on Friday evening of each week the *signon tes presbeia* with the rest of the holy icons following it should turn aside and go among our tombs and that an *ektenes* should be made for us, now we also issue these instructions concerning the illumination that there will be on that evening. For the arrival of the holy *signa* four large candles will be lit in those colonnades which are alongside the public colonnade and are used both for the arrival and the departure of these sacred icons. On the same evening also ten lamps will be lit and each must burn in its own lantern. In the *phiale* or fountain, where water must flow to refresh those who are weary from traveling, another lamp with lantern will be lit; on the exterior side of the church situated beyond this passageway six lamps, . . . before St. John the Forerunner above the door of the narthex one standing lamp and one candle, and opposite him before the icon in mosaic of the Mother of God one candle, [. . .] in the passageway of the *Heroon* itself in front of the icon of Christ, which is placed above the passageway to our tombs, two candles, . . . in the two apses of the *Heroon*, that is before the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, there should be one candle each, and in the other apse one candle before the Holy Sepulchre and another candle before Christ appearing to the Marys.¹⁷

On Fridays a cortege with crosses, icons, and tapers set off from the Blachernai on its traditional route to the Chalkoprateia.¹⁸ The centerpiece of this procession was an icon from the Blachernai, a *signon tes presbeias*, translated as "processional panel of the intercession."¹⁹ This icon was met en route by the processional icon (the *signon*) of the Eleousa church, and the whole procession was diverted to the Pantokrator monastery.

The iconographic types of the *signon* of the Eleousa and the *signon* of the *presbeia* cannot be determined with certainty. Yet the processional icon of the *presbeia* may have been related to one particular image type of the Theometor whose most famous example is the *Vladimirskaja* icon; in it the Child lovingly embraces his Mother and presses his cheek to her face (fig. 110).²⁰ Two extant named images show this visual schema together with the toponymic of the Blachernai. One example appears on the twelfth-century Sinai icon of the four Marian types; it is identified with the name *Blachernitissa* (fig. 42).²¹ The same image type also appears on a late-eleventh-century icon from the monastery of the Theotokos Petriziotissa in Bačkovo, Bulgaria.²² Its fourteenth-century silver revetment exhibits the name *Blacherniotissa*. These named images suggest the existence of a special icon showing the iconography of a specific icon at the Blachernai.²³ As a hypothesis, the image type of Mary lovingly embraced by the Child could be associated with the *signon* of the *presbeia*.²⁴

As mentioned above, on Fridays the *signon tes presbeias* was met on its way to the Chalkoprateia by the clergy of the Pantokrator monastery carrying the *signon* of the Eleousa church and was detoured to the Heroon. After a commemorative service was celebrated at the imperial tombs, the Blachernai's *signon tes presbeias* and the accompanying people were allowed to continue on their traditional weekly journey to the Chalkoprateia. The imposed change on the standard route of the procession shows the special privileges exercised by the emperor. By bringing the Friday *presbeia* cortege to his tomb, he availed himself of the spiritual benefits reaped by the public intercession.²⁵ John II's arrangements are unprecedented; what he did was to integrate the typical cathedral liturgy, with its urban processions, into his own commemorative monastic services. Nancy Ševčenko, in her influential article "Icons in the Liturgy," has argued that panels were first introduced into the cathedral liturgy and then integrated into the monastic rite. The Friday memorial services at the Pantokrator show the first steps leading to this development. By harnessing the urban *litaniai* with icons (central to the cathedral rite) to serve his memorial ritual, John II inaugurated and encouraged the integration of the public ceremonies into the monastic sphere. He also asserted his imperial right to use public processions for his personal salvation.

During the night of the *presbeia* a path of light was established between the sanctuary and narthex of the Eleousa and the candles and oil lamps in the Heroon.²⁶ The main icons marking the points of entry or exit in these spaces were also illumined by the glow of lamps and candles. In this way the images of John the Baptist and the Virgin *Eleousa* (to be distinguished from the *signon* of the Eleousa church) in the narthex of the north church and Christ's portrait above the door leading to the Heroon, lit by the lights and linked through the movement of people walking from the narthex of the Eleousa church to the Heroon, formed a spatial and dynamic Deesis (fig. 81).²⁷ The people participat-

ing in the procession thus visually traveled through a Deesis before they reached the Heroon.

Once there, they encountered a series of scenes telling the story of Christ's Passion and Resurrection.²⁸ The images of the Crucifixion, Threnos, Anastasis, and the Two Marys at the Tomb were depicted in the east end of the Heroon. By seeing Christ's death and descent to Hades countered by the Theometor's grief at the entombment and the joy of the two Marys hearing about the Resurrection, the viewer was brought vicariously to experience death, grief, and joy at promised salvation. The involvement with the images elicited an emotional response in the participants of the memorial service and prepared them to address prayers for the salvation of the emperor's soul.

THE ANNUAL CEREMONY

In addition to the Friday *presbeia*, John II Komnenos requested that a grander annual service be performed on the day of his death. The ceremony is described as follows:

I wish the holy icon of my most pure Lady and Theotokos Hodegetria to be taken into the monastery on the days of our commemorations—that is, those for the most beloved wife of my majesty, for my majesty itself, for my beloved son and *basileus*, Lord Alexios, if he will want to be buried with me—and while her holy icon is brought in, an *ektenes* should be made for us by all those who are following it and the *kyrie eleison* repeated thirty times. Then this holy icon should be set in the church of the Incorporeal [Archangel Michael] near our tombs and on those nights vigils should be held by the monks and the clergy, and on the next day the divine liturgy should be celebrated while the icon is present, and after the dismissal an *ektenes* should again be made for us in the presence of all the assembled people, and they should receive when they leave fifty *hyperpyra nomismata* at each visit of the Mother of God [the Hodegetria icon]. The division of the money should be as follows: six *hyperpyra nomismata* for the holy icon, twenty-four *hyperpyra nomismata* for the twelve *koudai*, two similar *nomismata* for the bearers and the other servants of the holy icon. The rest should be changed into *hagiogeorgata nomismata* and distributed to the *signa*.²⁹

By requesting that the Hodegetria icon come to his tomb, John II Komnenos instituted a new procession in his own honor. He once again used the urban processions of the cathedral liturgy, in this case the weekly *litania* with the Hodegetria, in his memorial rites. The special icon was set next to the tomb

Figure 110
Icon of the Virgin and Child, twelfth century, known as the *Vladimirskaia*, after the city of Vladimir, where it was brought in the 1160s. Later legend (established in the late fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, at the time of the formation of the Russian state and the rise of Moscow as its capital) associated the icon with the miraculous rescue of Moscow from the siege of Tamerlane in 1395. Scala/Art Resource, NY.



and showed the exceptional privilege accorded to the emperor; he had access to the most powerful icon of the city.

NAMED IMAGES: DESIRES MADE WORDS

John II's interest in public processions shows the special role given to icons in these ceremonies. They were the focus of the memorial rite and the means through which Mary's powers of intercession were activated. I argue that because of the importance of icons in public *litaniai*, they gradually acquired names, and these names in turn became the catalysts by which the functions of a particular icon were customized for a specific purpose. I have already discussed this phenomenon in connection with the Marian icons carried in war. Their function was spelled out in names such as *Nikopoios* or *Akatamachetos* inscribed next to the image. The images of the military saints in battle gear placed in the frames of these icons played a similar role. My focus in this section is on the two terms *Hodegetria* (by which the *signon* of the Hodegon was named) and *Eleousa* (by which the *signon* of the north church of the Pantokrator monastery was named). Both terms use or derive from the name of the sanctuary that houses them. At the same time, both appellations also denote the particular qualities of the Theometor and thus define the way her icon is expected to function. These two terms are both toponymic and qualitative.

In general, the word *Hodegetria* identifies the image of Mary carrying the Child on her left arm kept at the Hodegon. It is one of the most stable names linked to a specific visual type. Only rarely is the name attached to a different visual formula: for example, the enthroned Mother and Child on a seal of John Vatazes, dated to A.D. 1341, and a Virgin orans with a medallion with Christ hovering on her chest, depicted in the apse of the twelfth-century church of Agitria in Mani, Greece.³⁰ As discussed earlier, the term *Hodegetria* derives from the name of the monastery, the Hodegoi, or "guides."³¹ At the same time, as a poetic term, *Hodegetria* refers to the Mother of God as the guide leading "blind" mankind to the light of God (fig. 83).³² Mary as *hodegos planomenon*, meaning "the leader of the people who have gone astray," frequently appears in Byzantine hymnography.³³ The poetic names of the Theometor usually cluster in the *theotokia*, hymns addressed to the Theotokos sung during the Byzantine liturgy.³⁴ In some of these the Theotokos is addressed as follows:

You who have given birth to the Way of Salvation,
Virgin, lead me to the straight way
and make straight the ways of my soul, I beseech you,
and lead my steps to the way of repentance.³⁵

The terrible night of my misdeeds

and bad deeds covers me,
but I call to you, lead me
to the divine light
of your Son and Lord,
oh, all-in-light-resplendent Virgin.³⁶

Hodegetria activates the power of the Virgin to pull up and lead mankind back to the light of God. The iconographic type also enhances the perception of the Theotokos as the guide; her free hand gestures to the blessing Child, and thus it leads the viewer back to God.

This understanding of the term *Hodegetria* as referring to Mary's role in guiding humankind to Christ is also revealed in the Latin pilgrim's account, the *Anonymous Tarragonensis*. The description of the Tuesday procession mentions how the Hodegetria, in passing en route the Tribunalium, turns supernaturally on its own accord to face the image of Christ at the Chalke gate.³⁷ This action could be read as deeply symbolic. By turning to face her Child, the Mother pointed the way to God. Her gesturing hand also emphasized Mary's role as a guide (see fig. 83). Name, image type, and ceremony thus created a powerful object and offered access to salvation.

Understood as a qualitative term, *Hodegetria* is related to a whole group of similar poetic names such as *eleousa*, or "the merciful one" (fig. 111); *paramythia*, or "consolation" (figs. 112, 113); *boethos*, "help" (fig. 114); and *episkepsis* or "protection/visitation" (figs. 115, 116). These terms designate particular ideal qualities of the Mother of God. The names originate from the hymns and prayers in honor of the Theotokos.³⁸ When the poetic terms start to appear on Marian panels, they indicate that the Theometor's help is actualized in her icons. The poetic epithets are functional; they tap Mary's powers and do not mark set iconographic types.

Because few painted panels survive from Constantinople, the evidence for named Marian images comes primarily from seals. The first recorded examples date to the eleventh century. Their appearance coincides with the rise of icon processions to public prominence.³⁹ The link between public *litaniai* and panels carrying poetic names reveals a process of transformation in Marian devotion. While in the past qualitative terms had been associated with the idea of the Theotokos in a general way, now they came to be tied to her material manifestations: her icons carried in public *litaniai*. The link between processions and icons with poetic names is established in a fifteenth-century *Logos Diegematikos* as follows: "And this icon [the Hodegetria] was to circle the city on the third day of the week [Tuesday] with hymns and candles in order to turn away in flight all enemies and to offer shelter [*episkepsis*] to the weak, and kind consolation [*paramythia*] to the suffering, and the mightiest help [*boethia*] from all bad things and hardships."⁴⁰

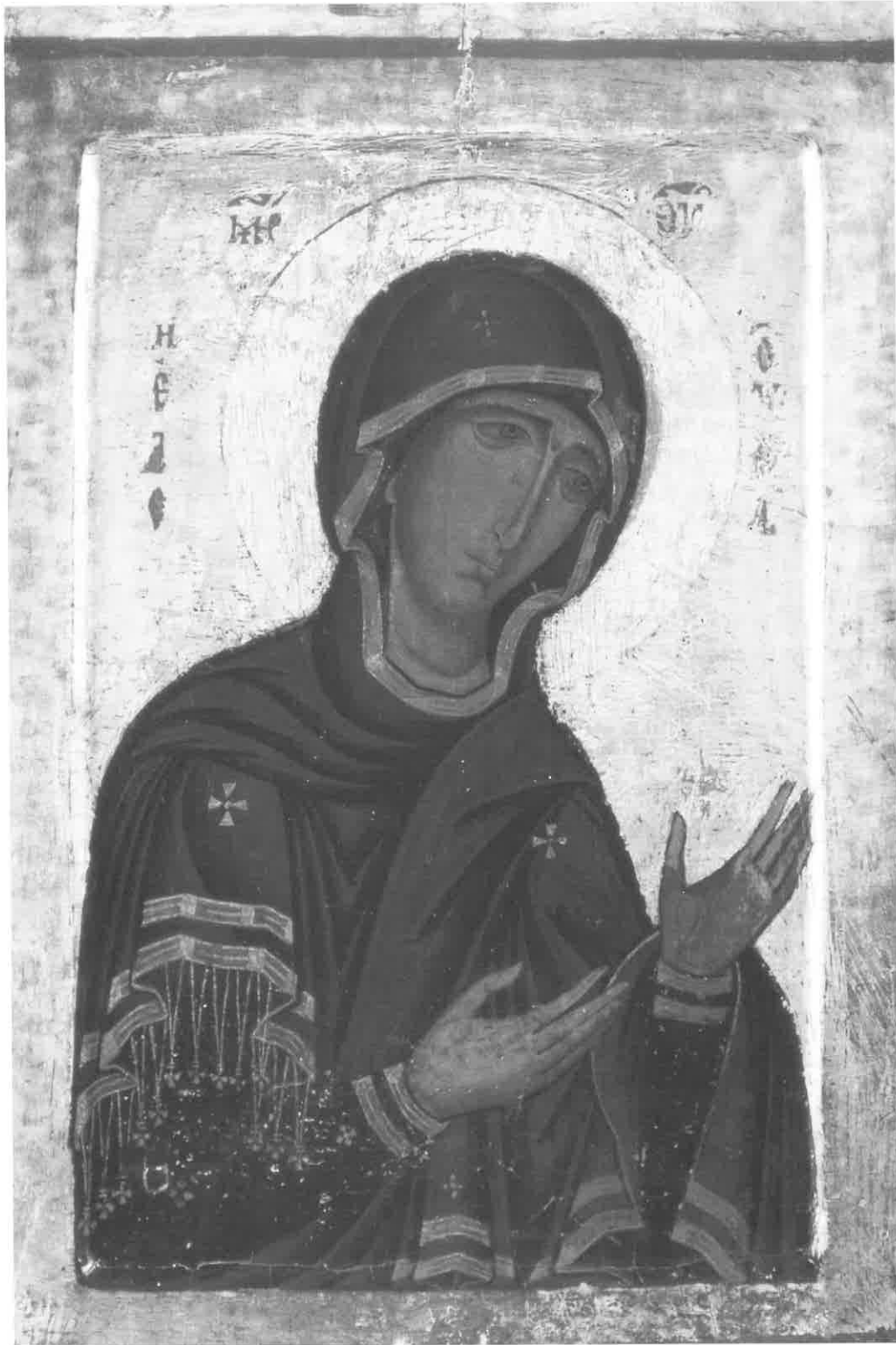


Figure III (opposite)
Icon of the Virgin with the name
ELEOUSA ("merciful") inscribed
in the field, 1180s, church of the
Holy Cross, hermitage of
St. Neophytos, Cyprus. This
processional and *proskynesis*
icon was set on the iconostasis
framing the royal doors. The
name *ELEOUSA*, paired with the
interceding gesture of Mary's
hands, is meant to activate
Christ's mercy, or *eleos*, on
behalf of the faithful praying
before this icon. Sophocles
Sophocleous, Cyprus Center of
Cultural Heritage, Nikosia.

ELEOUSA

Similar to the Hodegetria, the *Eleousa* icon of the Pantokrator monastery bore a name with both toponymic and qualitative functions: the name referred both to the homonymous church and to the divine mercy sought from the Mother of God through her icon. There is no evidence about the precise iconographic type displayed by this particular panel.⁴¹ Moreover, because the name *Eleousa* is qualitative, it was associated with a number of visual formulas, and this fluidity precludes the possibility of identifying the iconography of the panel at the Eleousa church of the Pantokrator monastery with any certainty (figs. III, II7, II8).⁴²

Yet many of the extant *Eleousa*-named images appear in funeral spaces, suggesting the particular function of the term. Among the earliest named representations is a mosaic icon from the Koimesis church in Nikaia dated to 1065; it was set on the northeastern pier (fig. II8).⁴³ The Theometor holds the infant Christ in her left arm and gently places her other hand on his knee. She stands in a frontal attitude and directly addresses the viewer. Another example is preserved in the late-twelfth-century church of the Virgin Arakiotissa at Lagoudera, Cyprus, placed in the northeastern corner of the iconostasis (fig. II7).⁴⁴ It features the Theometor presenting an open scroll with the donor's request. Her other hand is placed back on her chest; her head is subtly tilted, while her gaze is humbly cast downward. The third image is a bilateral icon from the monastery of St. Neophytos at Paphos, Cyprus, dated to 1183 (fig. III).⁴⁵ The

Figure II2 (above)
Lead seal with the Mother of
God, identified by the term
PARAMYTHIA ("consolation"),
eleventh century. State
Hermitage Museum,
St. Petersburg, Russia.



Figure 113 (above left)
Double-sided processional icon, side A, with Virgin and Child, fourteenth century. The word *PARAMYTHIA* is inscribed next to the figure of Mary. Sophocles Sophocleos, Cyprus Center of Cultural Heritage, Nikosia.

Figure 114 (above right)
Lead seal with the Mother of God, identified with the qualitative name *BOETHOS* ("help"), holding the Child in her left arm, eleventh century. Mary's help is again invoked in the inscription: "Theotoke, help Christophoros Timonites *krites tou velou* [judge of the elite (imperial?) tribunal]." State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.



Theotokos *en buste* with head cast down raises her hands in supplication. The exaggerated curved contour of her eyebrows, the distorted eyes, and the closed small mouth bespeak solitary sorrow.

All three *Eleousa* images were set up in churches that performed funerary functions. In the case of Nikaia, the church was given as a *pronoia*, meaning an imperial grant of fiscal administration of an ecclesiastical foundation, given to a subject for a restricted period of time as recognition of services rendered.⁴⁶ A monastic foundation received as a *pronoia* frequently served as a burial place of the *pronoetos* and his family. Several cases of this practice are recorded; one of them is featured in the will of Eustathios Boilas of A.D. 1059.⁴⁷ Another example is offered by Gregory Pakourianos, who received the monastery of the Theotokos Petriziotissa in present-day Bačkovo, Bulgaria, as a *pronoia* in the 1080s.⁴⁸ In both cases, the monastic community performed commemorative services for the donors. Likewise, the Koimesis church in Nikaia most likely served as the burial ground of the *pronoetos* Nikephoros, a *patrikios*, *praepositos*, *vestes*, and great *hetairiarches*.⁴⁹ Two sarcophagi were found there: one in the northern addition to the narthex, and the other in the southwestern corner of



the naos.⁵⁰ Based on earlier travelers' accounts, Oskar Wulff suggested that the second sarcophagus, the one in the naos, belonged in fact to the same *pronoetos* Nikephoros mentioned in the inscription in the narthex.⁵¹ He was also depicted, together with the emperor, flanking an image of the Virgin and Child in a mosaic in the lunette of the southern wall of the narthex. His name was included in the accompanying inscription.⁵²

Similarly, the second *Eleousa* image comes from a foundation with funerary functions; the katholikon of the Theotokos Arakiotissa most likely served as the burial place of the patron Leo Authentos and his family (fig. 117).⁵³ Finally, the third named Marian image, at the *enkleistra* of St. Neophytos at Paphos, was set in a space for the wakes and commemorative services for the monastic community (fig. 111).⁵⁴ The *Eleousa*-named images of the Theotokos at the sanctuaries of the three churches in Nikaia, Lagoudera, and Paphos suggest that the epithet inscribed on the Marian icon was related to the role of these churches in performing the funerary and commemorative rites for their donors.

The association of the term *Eleousa* with burial and salvation is bolstered by study of this term in the prayers for the dead. It, together with many related

Figure 115 (above left)
Lead seal of the bishop of Thebes, Peter, second half of the eleventh century. The Virgin, holding the Child in front of her chest, is named *EPISKEPSIS* ("visitation"/"protection"). The call for protection implicit in this poetic name is also present in the inscription on the reverse side: "Mother of God, protect me, Peter of Thebes." Byzantine collection, Dumbarton Oaks.

Figure 116 (above right)
Mosaic icon with the image of Mary and the poetic name *EPISKEPSIS*, late thirteenth century. Byzantine Museum, Athens. Art Resource, New York.

terms, appears in the *theotokia* of the funerary prayers: "All Holy Theotokos, at the end of my life, do not leave me, on account of your patronage of mankind, do not let me down, but take hold of me yourself and have mercy [*eleeson*] on me!"⁵⁵ "We rejoice in you All Blessed One, *Pammakaristos*, who gave birth in the flesh to the Logos of Life for our blessed existence,"⁵⁶ "Rise to our help, put forward our plea, save me from the frightening condemnation, the painful affliction, darkness, and fire, and gnawing teeth, the abuse of the demons from all torture, oh hope of the hopeless [*elpis ton apelpismenon*], life of the desperate [*zoe ton apegnosmenon*]." ⁵⁷ *Eleousa*, *pammakaristos*, *elpis ton apelpismenon*, and *zoe ton apegnosmenon* all identify the Theometor's mercy for her dejected people and express the hope for salvation.⁵⁸

Eleousa derives from *eleos*, or "mercy," a power of Christ, which in its ultimate form gives a place of rest to the souls of the deceased in paradise.⁵⁹ Christ is frequently addressed in the same prayers for the dead as *eleemon* and *polueleos*, meaning "filled with much mercy": "God, have mercy on us, on account of your great mercy, we beseech you, listen to us and have mercy."⁶⁰ By addressing Christ with the epithets *eleemon* and *polueleos*, the faithful expressed the response they desired from the Lord.⁶¹ It is the Mother *Eleousa* who has the power to unlock the mercy/*eleos* in her Child and thus help humankind.

THE IMAGINED EXCHANGE

From the typikon of the Pantokrator we know that the faithful engaged the processional icons (the *signa*) with invocations.⁶² Through the numerous addresses, *kyrie eleison* ("God, be merciful"), *eleos* was believed to have descended on the supplicants. Such engagement is nowhere more prominently preserved than in the interaction between the Marian icons and the faithful during the commemorative services in the Heroon.⁶³ The prayers addressed to Christ and the Theometor were said in front of the panels. The miniature from the Hamilton Psalter offers a good illustration through which to imagine this rite (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9, fol. 39v) (fig. 105).⁶⁴ It features a "hodegetria"-type icon of the Mother of God set inside a *ciborium* closed off by an iron grid. A man and a woman in the foreground kneel in front of the icon and raise their hands in supplication. Five more figures stand behind the iron grid and raise their hands in a gesture of intercession.

Byzantine prayers enumerate the poetic names of Christ; once these appellations were said aloud, they were believed to have activated his powers. Christ was invoked as *pantokrator*, "the ruler over all/everything"; *dikaios*, "the just"; *eleemon*, "the merciful"; *philanthropos*, "the lover of humanity"; *hyperagathos*, "the exceedingly benevolent";⁶⁵ and *panoiktirmos*, "the one filled with pity."⁶⁶ These terms were believed to model the appearance of the Divinity as well as the

Figure 117

Fresco of Mary set next to the iconostasis in the church of the Virgin *Eleousa* at Lagoudera, Cyprus, ca. 1192. The Virgin *Eleousa* stands full length on a gem-encrusted silk *podium*. She presents an open scroll recording her dialogue with Christ: "What do you want, Mother?" "The salvation of mankind." "They have angered me." "Forgive them, my son." "But they do not repent." "Well, save them anyway." "They will have their redemption." "I thank you, Christ" (tr. M. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres*, 167). Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives.

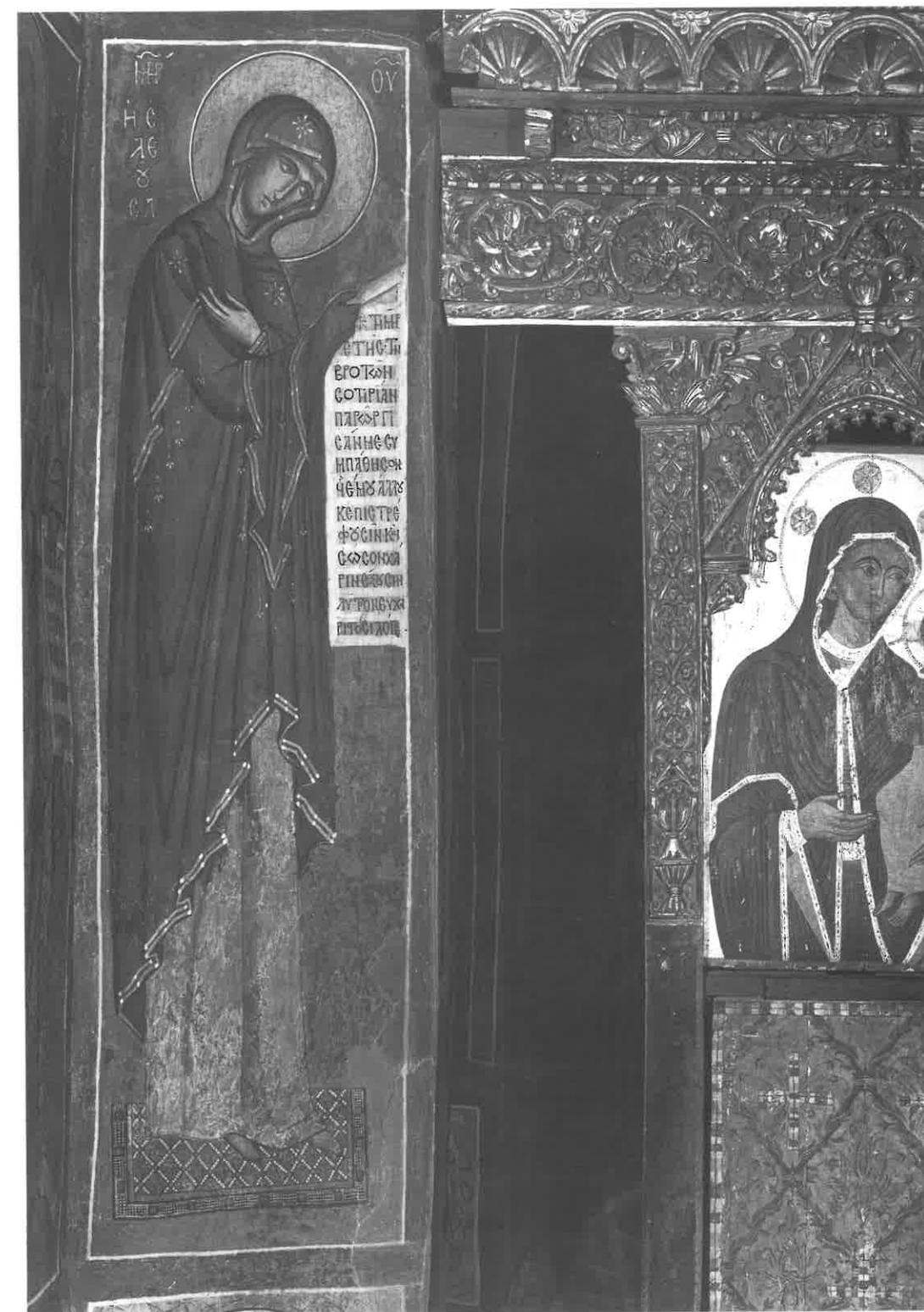




Figure 118
Mosaic icon of the Virgin
Eleousa and Child, ca. 1065,
Koimesis Church, Nikaia.

desired response from Him. The poetic names are revealed in the standard Middle Byzantine funerary prayers as follows:

We ask [on behalf of the deceased] for the mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the remission of sins [carried out] through Christ our immortal Lord and God.⁶⁷

Give rest to your servant and place him in paradise where the choir of the righteous is.⁶⁸

Oh [Christ] the only merciful [*eleemon*] and compassionate [*eusplanchnos*], an immense sea of benevolence, the one who knows the human nature he fashioned, we beseech you, Christ and Lord, give a place of rest to the deceased one, where all the blessed have an abode in you, to glorify your divine name.⁶⁹

Philanthrope, give rest to your pious servant.⁷⁰

Pantokrator and Lord, give a place of rest to the soul of the deceased in the tents of the just, where your light illuminates all the righteous, for you only are filled with mercy.⁷¹

Oh God, oh God, you called me, be now a consolation to my house.⁷²

From Hades you called up Lazaros in the past, now resurrect your servant in Hades, oh *Philanthrope*!⁷³

All these calls for help name the powers of Christ and thus activate them on behalf of the deceased. We can image a similar exchange during the memorial services at the Pantokrator. The people standing before the processional icons addressed these images with similar pleas.

Not surprisingly, the main *signa* are Marian icons, because it is the Theometor who unlocks the awesome power of Christ on behalf of mankind. Because of her maternal relationship to him, she is perceived as the ideal intercessor.⁷⁴

Hail, oh august one, who gave birth to God in the flesh for the salvation of all. For through you humankind found salvation for itself, and through you we might find paradise, Theotoke, pure and praised.⁷⁵

Through you, oh Virgin, we will rise from the earth to heaven after shaking off the destruction of death.⁷⁶

For through you the requital of sins is bestowed on the righteous by means of the blood of the one who was incarnated in you, oh immaculate one.⁷⁷

Save the ones who trust in you, mother of the never setting sun, you who have given birth to God, beseech through your intercessions that the exceedingly benevolent [Christ] give rest to the deceased.⁷⁸

For by paradoxically incarnating God, she gave birth to the one who freed us, captives of transgressions.⁷⁹

Since you conceived the Logos without beginning, plead zealously with God on account of your license as a mother to place your servant in a realm of never ending joy!⁸⁰

I affix the eyes of the heart on you who has the intercession of a mother before her son.⁸¹

All these addresses to Mary attribute her efficacy in intercession to her special relationship to Christ. As his mother, she can rely on his unfaltering love to secure a benevolent response.

Both the multiple powers of Christ and the Virgin's access to them were visually manifested to the faithful in the form of the processional icons set around the tomb of John II during service. There were the three principal *signa*: the *signon tes presbeias* of the Blachernai, the *signon* of the Eleousa church, and the Hodegetria. The iconography of the Hodegetria is known; for the *signon* of the Blachernai there is only a hypothesis. The Hodegetria showed the power of intercession in the raised hand of the Theometor directed toward her Son (fig. 83). The image also offered a glimpse of the desired response in the form of Christ's blessing hand. If in fact the Blachernai *signon tes presbeias* featured the image type known from the *Vladimirskaja* icon, then its iconography

manifested in a visual form Christ's love necessary for the success of Mary's intercession (fig. 110). A thirteenth-century icon from Fasoula, Cyprus, and bearing the name *Eleousa* presents an example of this visual type. It features the Mother holding the Child in her arms (fig. 119).⁸² The infant hugs his mother; with one arm he embraces her around the neck, while he places the other on her chest. The passionate gesture of Christ shows how deeply he loves his mother. The Mother of God can count on this love when she intercedes for mankind. The icon thus reassures the faithful that as long as this love exists, the Theometor's prayer will be efficacious. And surely the prayer is depicted on a metal plaque attached to the Theometor's forehead.⁸³ At its center, two identical Deesis scenes flank a small bust image of the praying Virgin. The repetition of the Deesis expresses how intense the desire for divine benevolence is. By duplicating the element that procures divine grace (the Deesis), the image ensures its efficacy in obtaining the Lord's response. The repetition encountered in the prayers appears on the icon as a repetition of identical scenes and gestures.

If my reconstruction of the iconography of the *signon* from the Blachernai is correct, it can explain how the weekly service centered around an icon that offered a visual form of Christ's love: the basis for the efficacy of Mary's prayers. This icon, once ushered into the Pantokrator complex, followed an itinerary that spatially linked a series of images and thus established a Deesis in space. The *signon* passed by the icon of John the Baptist, the Virgin *Eleousa*, and then Christ Pantokrator, activating in its wake the blessing of Christ. The Hodegetria established a similar Deesis in space during the annual memorial ceremony. Through its iconography and name, the Hodegetria presented the faithful with an image of the divine response in the form of Christ's blessing gesture.

By channeling traditional processions through his monastery and establishing new ones, John II Komnenos laid his hands on the powers of public intercession issuing from the complex exchange between the "activated" icons and the faithful. He also integrated both a *Blachernitissa* and the Hodegetria into the new ceremonies of the Pantokrator. His ceremonies were some of the first to fuse monastic rites with the cathedral liturgy of processions with icons. The two processions (the weekly and the annual) were carefully thought out: while the symbolism of the weekly *litania* insisted on the efficacy of Mary's intercession, the impetus behind the annual was to secure the favorable response of Christ.

By requesting the Hodegetria icon, John II Komnenos made this image a state icon, closely identified with imperial power.⁸⁴ Such royal identification with this panel is almost immediately copied by the Norman court of Roger II, where the Theometor with the name Hodegetria was depicted in mosaic right next to the royal loggia in the northern aisle of the Cappella Palatina in 1143.⁸⁵

Figure 119
Icon of the Virgin *Eleousa* and
Child, thirteenth century,
Fasoula, Cyprus. Sophocles
Sophocleos, Cyprus Center of
Cultural Heritage, Nikosia.



The state function of the Hodegetria, established first through the imperial commemorative services of John II Komnenos, served as an paradigm for later Byzantine memorial rites. The Palaiologan dynasty appropriated the annual memorial with the Hodegetria and integrated it into the framework of the annual Akathistos celebration after 1328. The Hodegetria was brought to the palace on the eve of the Akathistos (fifth day of the fifth week of Lent) and remained there until Easter Sunday. The emperor celebrated the Akathistos in the chapel of the Virgin *Nikopoios* in front of the Hodegetria, and then on Monday following Easter he escorted the icon to the Blachernai, where an annual memorial service for the Byzantine emperors took place.⁸⁶ I believe it is this Monday ceremony that appears in the Late Byzantine illustrated narrative cycles of the Akathistos hymn.⁸⁷

Many of these visual narratives show a scene with the Hodegetria icon carried in a procession.⁸⁸ So far, the proliferation of these images has been attributed to the popularity of the monastic practice of reading the hymn during the private eleventh-hour service commemorating the dead or to the spread of Hesychasm.⁸⁹ But in fact the images played a larger role; they were meant to be perceived in a public context and were intended to proclaim royal legitimacy modeled after the contemporary Byzantine imperial ceremonies.

The sanctuary of the Pantokrator monastery at Dečani offers the earliest example of the Akathistos cycle in a Serbian royal foundation.⁹⁰ Founded in 1335 by Stephan Dušan (1331–55) and completed in 1350, Dečani was the funerary site of Dušan's father, King Stephan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–31). The Akathistos hymn is illustrated in the east end of the church. The last verse of the hymn appears in the center of the apse and features the royal family: Tsar Stephan Dušan, his wife, Jelena, and their son Uroš.⁹¹ All are dressed in red robes with the pearl-embroidered gold sashes, or *loroi*, and wear crowns with hanging pearl strings on their heads. Both Stephan Dušan and his son hold in hand the symbol of power: the scepter. Next to them, at the very center of the apse, is the Hodegetria icon, set in place by two icon-bearers. The proximity of the icon to the royal family conveys the belief that the Hodegetria is their protector. The Hodegetria also signifies the legitimacy of the rulers, erasing the memory of how Stephan Dušan came to power, by strangling his father. The presence of the Constantinopolitan icon establishes the myth of Stefan Dušan's legitimate succession.

Subsequently, any ruler of Serbia with royal aspiration would appropriate the Akathistos cycle and the scene with the Hodegetria icon for his funerary monastery. The best example is offered by the Markov manastir; it was built for Vukašin (who was elected co-ruler of Serbia by Uroš in 1365). The last stanza of the Akathistos is depicted here as a procession of the court and priesthood with the Hodegetria (fig. 120). A man standing to the left gives a sign for the rhythm

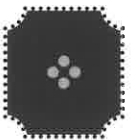
Figure 120

Fresco of the Akathistos, stanza 24, Markov manastir, late fourteenth century, Macedonia/FYROM. Priests and courtiers address the Hodegetria icon. The beginning of stanza 24 appears in the upper left: "O Holy Mother hymned by all [you who gave birth to the Word, the holiest of all holies; accept this present offering, deliver from every evil and from the punishment to come all those who cry out to you: 'Alleluia']" (tr. L. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*, 19). G. Subotić.



of the hymn. His gesture prompts the real and imagined audience to begin their own hymn to the Virgin Mary in front of the Hodegetria icon. The painted scene thus seamlessly merges into the ritual performed in the actual space of the church. By singing to the Theotokos, the participants manifested their loyalty to their rulers. Thus, at the end it was the Hodegetria icon that embodied the Byzantine imperial model of a civic cult to the Virgin and spread this example in the Eastern Orthodox states.

Conclusion



“[The Virgin] is more beloved and venerated here [Constantinople] than in any other place in the world. It is said indeed and believed that Constantinople is the proper and special city of the Mother of God.”¹ These are the words of the Latin pilgrim written after his visit to Constantinople in the late eleventh century. The Mother of God indeed received special veneration in the Byzantine capital, largely because of the presence of the imperial institution in the city. The earlier scholarship on the subject has attributed the rise of an imperially sponsored cult of the Theotokos to the augusta Pulcheria (414–53). By contrast, the extant evidence suggests that the emperors Leo I (457–74) and Verina were the first actively to promote a Marian cult. I believe this new imperial policy was a result of the Council of Chalcedon, which brought to prominence the city of Constantinople by granting it a patriarchal status. Leo and Verina’s zeal seems to have stemmed from a desire to match Rome’s and Jerusalem’s commitment to the cult of the Theotokos. They built the *soros* at the Blachernai in order to house the relic of Mary’s *esthes* (tunic). This foundation was inspired by the sanctuaries and ceremonies dedicated to the Theotokos in the Holy Land. Leo I aspired to form a new dynasty and effected his plans by establishing an imperial cult to the Theotokos. His policy was imitated by Justin I and Justinian in the first half of the sixth century; they followed an imperial patronage of Marian sanctuaries, linking their activities with the legacy of Leo I and Verina. The official image of Mary presented her as Victoria, bestowing triumphs on the emperor and thus legitimizing his rule. Justin II (565–78) was the first emperor to give visual expression to these political ideas by placing on his seals the image of the Theotokos in lieu of Victoria.

It is only in the early eighth century, with the rise of the Isaurian dynasty (717–802), that we witness the beginning of a new concept of Mary as the protector of hereditary power. In building the Chrysotriklinos, the Porphyry chamber, and the Pharos church of the Theotokos, Leo III (717–41) and his son Constantine V (741–75) expressed a desire to establish a lasting dynastic line. The success of their policy is evident in the length of their rule; they were the first dynasty to establish such a lasting line since the time of the Theodosians (379–457).

The next significant step in the development of the imperial cult toward Mary coincided with the rule of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) and more specifically with the usurpation of the throne by military generals as regents. For them the concept of Mary as protector of the *porphyrogenetoi* rulers was a threat that could only be resolved by propelling the older image of the Theotokos as Victoria. Phokas and Tzimiskes each pushed for the development of a visual vocabulary expressing this Roman concept. As successful generals, they both owed their political power to their victories on the battlefield and the loyalty of their troops. Not surprisingly, they actively promoted the figure of the Virgin in her functions as Victoria. Both minted coins on whose obverse the Theomator and the ruler (Phokas) together held the scepter or the Theomator placed her hand on the ruler's crown (Tzimiskes). It was Tzimiskes who staged the first triumphal procession with a Marian icon as its centerpiece. In a desire to erase the memory of the victories of Phokas, Tzimiskes pushed for novel imperial ceremonies.

It seems likely that some inspiration for this icon-centered procession came from the Hodegon. In 970 Tzimiskes gave the foundation to the patriarchate of Antioch as their Constantinopolitan residence. The new owners knew very well how to engage the memory and rituals of the East. Antioch's identity was linked to a special icon. As recorded in a tenth-century writings of Symeon Metaphrastes, the apostle Luke was from Antioch; he allegedly painted an authentic portrait of Mary. In a tactical move, members of the patriarchate of Antioch most likely transplanted this material to Constantinople. They rebuilt the public identity of the Hodegon around this legendary Marian icon. It is likely that the Tuesday procession emerged in this same period, thus firmly linking the icon to its monastery. The success of the Hodegetria disrupted the balance of power among the Marian sanctuaries in the capital. If, in the past, imperial legitimacy and victory had centered on the Blachernai, the Hodegon, with its Hodegetria, emerged now as a contender for the role.

The Komnenoi, especially John II (1118–43), seized on the power of these urban processions to strengthen the concept of hereditary power. In requesting that the Friday *presbeia* procession stop at his monastery of the Pantokrator, and in creating a new annual procession with the Hodegetria, which gathered the congregation around the imperial tombs, John II successfully tapped into the

powers of urban *litaniai* to build support for and conformity to the Komnenian house. Thus the Hodegetria emerged as the state icon of the Byzantine state.

As the importance of Mary in upholding the imperial institution grew, it became necessary to create a myth about the city's dedication to the Theotokos. "Pure" characters were chosen as protagonists. By the eighth century (not coincidentally marking the establishment of the Isaurian dynasty) Constantine the Great was perceived as the model par excellence of the pious emperor. Following the sign of God, he allegedly dedicated Constantinople to the Mother of God. Similarly, in the course of the twelfth century the empress Pulcheria was promoted as the other main patron of Marian devotion. As a virgin empress she became an ideal figure to link to the Virgin Mother. Moreover, Pulcheria's imperial position enhanced the royal aura of the cult of the Theotokos. The main sanctuaries of the city were quickly assembled under her mythical patronage; Mary's relics and icons followed suit. Similarly, the main urban processions, like the Tuesday *litania* with the Hodegetria and the Friday *presbeia*, came to be linked to the alleged pious designs of Pulcheria.

The attraction of this myth continues to exert its influence even today, especially because scholarship is interested in gender issues. Pulcheria is thus studied as the virgin empress who seized power through virginity and allegedly solidified her rule by promoting a cult of the Virgin Mary. While queens in the West modeled their political image after the Virgin (the most notable example being Elizabeth I),² Pulcheria, the historical figure, did not have any political agenda of promoting Marian devotion. It is her mythical figure that was linked to the Theotokos. Seizing on Pulcheria's actual vow of virginity, Byzantine political minds used her figure to promote the standard concept of imperial power guaranteed by the Mother of God.

When icons became the centerpiece in urban processions in the late tenth century, new demands were placed on these objects. They had to engage big audiences, be visible from vast distances, and translate in visual terms the concept of prayer, which stood at the essence of the urban *litaniai*. The Hodegetria and at least two of the name icons at the Blachernai reveal new iconographic formulas. These novel developments have not been discussed in modern scholarship, because of the powerful hold of Kondakov's rigid theory of iconographic types, which assumes that all types have early Christian origins. By contrast, this study has demonstrated that a series of new visual formulas emerged in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. The Hodegetria is one of the most prominent examples. It is the ultimate processional and intercessory image. The gaze and the gestures of the hands of the Mother and Child are meant to integrate the viewer into a triangle of prayer, intercession, and response. The Virgin meets the gaze of the beholder while with her raised hand she intercedes and presents the prayer to the Child. Christ responds with a

blessing. Another image type directly connected with processions and prayer is exemplified by the *Blachernitissai* icon the Virgin of Tenderness. The iconography offers a visual expression of what makes Mary the most reliable intercessor: she possesses the unconditional love of the Child. By placing his arm around her neck and drawing his face to her cheek, Christ assures the viewer of his ultimate benevolent response to his mother's prayers. The last image type discussed in this book, the *Blachernitissa* of the "usual miracle," also shows an iconography that developed in response to a rite. As the curtain lifted to reveal the animated image of Mary, so too the new iconography presented an *empsychos graphe*, "in-spirited" by the divine presence in the form of the medallion miraculously hovering on the Mother's chest.

In addition to the development of new iconographic formulas, the treatment of the field and frame of the icon also evolved in response to the prominent role of panels in processions. The placement of poetic names in the field of icons emerged in the eleventh century and offered a means to modify the function of the particular icon to the specific needs of the patron; the epithets inscribed on the panels also repeated the very words with which the Theometor was addressed during prayer. Similarly, the choice and arrangement of auxiliary figures in the frames of icons also engaged the special powers of the Theometor necessary for the particular context of use. For instance, the *Akatamachetos* and *Nikopoios* were epithets well suited for a war context, while *Eleousa* and *Paramythia* responded to the needs of the funerary and commemorative rites.

The two lines of investigation in this book—the imperial function of the Theometor's cult and the public expression of Marian devotion through processions—intersect in the late tenth century; henceforth they flow together in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This period marks the rise of public *litaniai* with icons in both imperial and liturgical ceremonies and the creation of memory reshaped by icons as the main protagonists in the record of the past. Byzantium rises as a culture of icons and reinvents its image as the empire of the Mother of God protected by the *Hodegetria* icon. It is this icon-centered imperial cult to the Mother of God that inspired a following in the West (Norman Sicily, papal Rome, and the Tuscan cities of the Dugento) and a legacy in the East best exemplified by the rise of the Vladimirskaja in Moscow as Russia's state icon. Byzantium did not start as the culture of icons, it became such a culture in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is the imperially sponsored Marian cult that triggered this transformation. The Theometor gave validity to the materiality of the icon; the icon in turn gave legitimacy to the emperor and the state.

✦ NOTES

Introduction

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Chapter 1

1. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 32–33; S. Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1993). On the connection between the cult of Isis and the Virgin Mary, see L. Langener, *Isis lactans—Maria lactans: Untersuchungen zur koptischen Ikonographie* (Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 9) (Altenberge: Oros, 1996), and R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). See also V. Tam Tinh Tran, *Isis Lactans: Corpus des monuments gréco-romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romaine, 37) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); F. le Corsu, *Isis, mythe et mystères* (Collection d'études mythologiques) (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1977).
2. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 6–31.

3. Ibid., 35–37.
4. This aspect of Marian devotion has not been extensively explored in scholarship to date. Freytag, *Die autonome Theotokosdarstellung*; Wellen, *Theotokos: Eine ikonographische Abhandlung*; Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*.
5. Most of the discussion has focused on the alleged involvement of the virgin-empress Pulcheria with the promotion of Marian devotion in the capital after the Council of Ephesus in 431: K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982); K. Cooper, "Contesting the Nativity: Wives, Virgins, and Pulcheria's *Imitatio Mariae*," *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 19/1 (1998): 31–43; and J. Herrin, "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium," *Past & Present* 169 (2000): 3–35. Many of these arguments have been reexamined by C. Angelidi, *Pulcheria: La castità al potere (c. 399–c. 455)* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1998), 61–86.
6. C. Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis," in *Mother of God*, 17–25.
7. *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske (CSHB, 9–10) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1829), 7, 71, 174; French tr. in *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris: Société d'édition Les belles lettres, 1967), I.1, I.9, I.32.
8. C. Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople," in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Poreč, September 9–October 1, 1994*, ed. N. Cambi and E. Marin (Studi di antichità cristiana, 54) (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1998), II, 61–76, and idem, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis." The Chalkoprateia is attributed to Verina; see Justinian, Nov. 3.1 9 (ann. 535), in *Iustinianus: Novellae quae vocantur sive Constitutiones quae extra Codicem supersunt, ordine chronologico digestatae*, ed. K. E. Zacharia von Lingenthal (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881), 70. Paul of Monemvasia, tenth century, attributes the construction to Verina's son-in-law, the emperor Zeno; see W. Lackner, "Ein byzantinisches Marienmirakel," *Byzantina* 13/2 (1985): 833–60, esp. 850.
9. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, in *Procopius*, tr. H. B. Dewing (LCL) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

- Press, 1914), I.3, vv. 5–11. These extramural foundations functioned as guardians of the city. Their role derived from the ancient tradition of sanctuaries of civic deities as protectors lining the outskirts of a city; see C. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 114–17, 138.
10. See my discussion in Chapter 3.
 11. A. Wenger, “Notes inédites sur les empereurs Théodose I, Arcadius, Théodose II, Léon I,” *Revue des études byzantines* 10 (1952): 46–59, esp. 54, and Mango, “The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople,” 61–64.
 12. *The Greek Anthology*, ed. and tr. W. R. Paton (LCL) (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960–63), I, bk. 1, poem 3. Procopius, *De aedificiis* (LCL), I.3, vv. 3–5.
 13. Procopius, *De aedificiis* (LCL), I.3, vv. 5–11.
 14. *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk. 1, poems 2 and 3.
 15. M. Jugie, “La première fête mariale en Orient et en Occident, l’avent primitif,” *Échos d’Orient* 22 (1923): 129–52, esp. 130, 143; idem, *La mort et l’assomption de la Sainte Vierge, étude historico-doctrinale* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 174. An earlier Marian feast, the so-called feast of Virginité, was instituted in the early fifth century on December 26; see M. Fassler, “The First Marian Feast in Constantinople and Jerusalem: Chant Texts, Readings, and Homiletic Literature,” in *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West: In Honor of Kenneth Levy*, ed. Peter Jeffery (Woodbridge, Suffolk/Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2001), 25–87, esp. 42–46.
 16. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XVII.28, in PG 147, col. 292. Jugie, *La mort et l’assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, 172–84. See also Wenger, “Notes inédites sur les empereurs,” 54; Jugie, “Homélies mariales byzantines: Textes grecs édités et traduits en latin,” *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1925), cols. 289–438; and idem, “La première fête mariale en Orient et en Occident.”
 17. M. van Esbroeck, “Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6e–7e siècles,” *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988): 181–90; George Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1838), I (CSHB, 34), 694: ὁ δὲ Μαυρίκιος ἔκτισε τὸν Καριανὸν ἐμβολὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις, γράψας ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ ζωγραφίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις τὰς ἐκ παιδότην μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας· ἀνεπλήρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ δημόσιον λουτρόν. τυποὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν λιτὴν καλουμένην πρεσβείαν κατὰ παρασκευὴν ἐν Βλαχέρναις τελεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρωτείοις πληροῦσθαι. By contrast, Theodore Anagnostes credits patriarch Timotheos (511–18) with the establishment of this *litania*: τὰς κατὰ παρασκευὴν λιτὰς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρωτείοις Τιμόθεος ἐπενόησε γίνεσθαι. Theodore Anagnostes, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV.494, in *Theodorus Anagnosta: Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Hansen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971; rpt. 1995), 140.
 18. See my discussion of the Akathistos ceremony in Chapter 2, the “usual miracle” in Chapter 5, and the weekly memorial rite for Emperor John II Komnenos in Chapter 6.
 19. C. A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Wiener byzantinische Studien, 5) (Vienna: E. Becvar, 1968), 17–39; E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, 9) (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1957); idem, “The Akathistos: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9–10 (1955–56): 143–74; V. Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 89–97; L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400–1453, 35) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001).
 20. For the Old and New Testament parallels and the connection with the patristic literature on Mary, see Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 125–215. For the connection with civic deities, see Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 121–42.
 21. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 85–89; Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 36–39, 66–77.
 22. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 62–76; M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). On *adventus* ceremonies, see S. MacCormack,

Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981).

23. Akathistos, stanza XXIII, vv. 10, 12–15, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 18–19.
24. ἄνθος τῆς ἀφθοροῦς, Akathistos, stanza XIII, v. 6, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 12–13.
25. G. Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine: Études 7) (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984), 37–47, 307; J. Strzygowski, “Die Tyche von Konstantinopel,” *Analecta Graeciensia: Festschrift zur 42. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Wien 1893* (Graz: Styria, 1893), 141–53; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIII.7, ed. I. Thurn (CSHB, 35) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 245–46; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (CSHB, 16–17) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1832), 528.
26. G. Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma: Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1995), 25–35; Strzygowski, “Die Tyche von Konstantinopel.” On ancient statuary in Constantinople and its perception, see *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*, ed. Cameron and Herrin, 94–95, 102–3, 110–13, commentary on 208, 215–18; Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale*, 43–44, nn. 4, 9. For the ancient statues in public spaces, see also H. Saradi-Mendovici, “Christian Attitudes Towards Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 47–62; S. Bassett, “The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 87–96. For a discussion of the perception of these public images, see C. Mango, “Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 55–75, and L. James, “‘Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard’: Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople,” *Gesta* 35 (1996): 12–20.
27. A. Bellinger, DOC I, 198–200, nos. 1–8b, pl. 49 (Constantinopolis/Victoria); P. Grierson, DOC II/1, 152–59, nos. 1–14, pl. 1 (Victoria).
28. PG 65, cols. 679–92, and N. Constatas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, LXVI) (Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 2003), 136–56 (homily 1). Peltomaa does not remark on this difference and still equates the image of the Virgin in the Akathistos with that in Proklos; Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 101–14, 200–204.
29. Akathistos, stanza XXIV, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin in the Akathistos Hymn*, 18–19.
30. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 35–36.
31. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 89–97, and Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 113–15.
32. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 101–14.
33. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 47–61.
34. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses; Belting, Likeness and Presence*, 34–35; Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 47–61; Constatas, *Proclus of Constantinople*, 347–51; Cooper, “Contesting the Nativity,” 31–43; Herrin, “The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium,” 14, 19; and Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 51–53, 57.
35. Mango, “The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople”; idem, “Constantinople as Theotokoupolis”; Angelidi, *Pulcheria*, 61–86; and Chapter 4; R. Price, “Marian Piety and the Nestorian Controversy,” in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Studies in Church History, 39) (Rochester, N.Y.: Ecclesiastical History Society/Boydell Press, 2004), 31–38.
36. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 113–14, 215–16.
37. J. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).
38. Benko, *The Virgin Goddess*, 152ff.
39. J. M. C. Toynbee, “Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 135–44; eadem, “Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 365 to Justin II,” in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. G. Mylonas and D. Raymond (St. Louis: Washington University, 1953), II, 261–77; *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh*

Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, Through February 12, 1978, ed. K. Weitzmann, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Princeton University Press, 1979), 173–82; Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 24–35; Strzygowski, “Die Tyche von Konstantinopel”; *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art: Yale University Art Gallery, 1 September–31 December, 1994*, ed. S. Matheson (*Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, 1994) (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1994). For the origins of personifications in Greek art, see A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts, 600–400 B.C.* (Zurich: Akanthus, 1993).

40. RIC, VII, 55, no. 99, pl. 17.

41. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 43–44, nn. 4, 9. Alexander the Great, however, initiated this practice of placing Tyche on the official coinage; see J. Pollitt, “An Obsession with Fortune,” in *An Obsession with Fortune*, 13–17, esp. 16, and A. Smith, “Queens and Empress as Goddesses: The Public Role of the Personal Tyche in the Graeco-Roman World,” in *An Obsession with Fortune*, 87–105.

42. The origins of this iconography should be sought among the early coins minted by Constantine I. They show a nude Jupiter holding in his outstretched hand a Victoria with a wreath: RIC, VII, 124, no. 29, pl. 2 (A.D. 313–14); 301, nos. 45, 46, pl. 7 (A.D. 316, Sol Invictus instead of Jupiter); 393–95, nos. 4, 14, 18, 22, pl. 12 (A.D. 317, no. 22 with Sol Invictus); 498, 501, nos. 4, 19, pl. 15 (A.D. 313–17 with Jupiter); 541, 548, nos. 1, 51, pl. 17 (A.D. 313, 321–24 with Jupiter); 603–4, 606, nos. 23, 30, 39, pl. 20 (A.D. 317–20 with Jupiter); 644, no. 5, pl. 22 (A.D. 316–17 with Jupiter); 676–77, 680, nos. 7, 11, 15, 30, pl. 23 (A.D. 313–20, Jupiter); 703, no. 4, pl. 24 (A.D. 313–14 with Genius Populi Romani). The post-Constantinian coins use the same image type but display the emperor instead, holding a Victoria: see RIC, VIII, 465, no. 176, pl. 23 (emperor Jovian); 480, no. 99, pl. 24 (emperor Constantius II); 533, no. 228, pl. 28 (emperor Jovian); 542, no. 52, pl. 28 (emperor Constantius II); IX, 274, no. 1, pl. 14 (emperor Valens); X, nos. 1, 2, pl. 1 (emperor Arkadios). Arkadios is the last emperor to use this iconographic type. Constantine's

statue paraded in Constantinople substituted for Victoria the Tyche Anthousa. In a sense the coins and statues offer visual variation of a political idea that rulership comes from victories in war.

43. ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ ἄλλην στήλην ξοάνου κεχρυσωμένην, βαστάζουσιν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὴν τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτὴν κεχρυσωμένην, ἣν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀνθούσαν, κελεύσας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ γενεθλιακοῦ ἱππικοῦ εἰσιέναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ ξοάνου στήλην διριγευομένην ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μετὰ χλαμύδων καὶ καμπαγίων, πάντων κατεχόντων κηρούς, καὶ περιέρχεσθαι τὸ σχῆμα τὸν ἄνω καμπτόν καὶ ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ σκάμμα κατέναντι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καθίσματος, καὶ ἐγειρεσθαι τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνεῖν, ὡς θεωρεῖ τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως· καὶ πεφύλακται τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἕως τοῦ νῦν. From Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIII.8, Thurn ed., 247, vv. 5–15, and *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 530, vv. 1–10.

44. P. Grierson and M. Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection: From Arcadius and Honorius to the Accession of Anastasius* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), 82–84.

45. Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 78ff. These symbols of power ultimately derive from images of Athena; see R. Mellor, “The Goddess Roma,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), vol. 17/II, 950–1030.

46. Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, pl. 15, nos. 379–87, 390. E. Gittings, “Civic Life,” in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. I. Kalavrezou (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 2003), 35–50, esp. 36, 49. Holum credits Pulcheria for this development; Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 108–11.

47. Ἀνωθεν τῆς Χαλκῆς ἐν τῷ Μιλίῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης ἀνωθεν τῆς καμάρας· ἐνθα καὶ σταυρὸς «καὶ ἡ Τύχη» μέσον τοῦ σταυροῦ τῆς πόλεως. From *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, XXXIV.3, ed. Cameron and Herrin, 94–95, 208.

48. ODB, II, 1346.

49. Bellinger, DOC I, 198–200, nos. 1–8b, pl. 49.

50. Ἡ δὲ Τύχη τῆς πόλεως ἄγαλμα ἦν καὶ ἤχθη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἵστατο δὲ ἐπάνω τῆς ἀψίδος τοῦ παλατίου. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς

Μαυρικὸς συνέτριψεν αὐτήν. From *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, bk. III, sect. 131, ed. T. Preger (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901), II, 257.

51. F. Combefis, *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum Sanctaeque in eam Sextae Synodi Actorum Vindictiae* (Paris, 1648), 751–86, esp. 754; Mango, “The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople.” For a slightly earlier dating of the narrated events, see A. Cameron, “The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 42–56.

52. F. Halkin, “Une nouvelle vie de Constantin dans un légendaire de Patmos,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959): 63–107, esp. 83–84, 90–91, and A. Frolov, “La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine,” *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944): 61–127. The text might have its origins in the eighth century. The new foundation myth appears in later sources: Pseudo-Symeon and Kedrenos; F. Halkin, “Le règne de Constantin d'après la Chronique inédite du pseudo-Syméon,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60): 7–27, and Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., I, 496. As an iconophile invention, the account sets up the model of the pious emperor Constantine the Great against the homonymous but impious iconoclast emperor Constantine V (741–75), who reputedly held the Virgin in low esteem; A. Kazhdan, “‘Constantin imaginaire’: Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century About Constantine the Great,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987): 196–250, esp. 248. As my discussion in this chapter reveals, there is enough evidence to suggest that, rather than suppress, Constantine V in fact embraced the Marian cult and used it to promote the concept of hereditary monarchy.

53. For a discussion of Victoria as a state symbol in republican and imperial Rome, see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana: Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs.n.Chr.* (Mainz: Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, 1967); J. Gagé, “La théologie de la victoire impériale,” *Revue historique* 171 (1959): 1–43; J. R. Fears, “The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 17/II, 737–825. For Byzantium, see J. Gagé,

“Σταυρὸς νικητοῦς: La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien,” *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 13 (1933): 370–400; A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin: Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1936; rpt. London: Variorum, 1971), 31–84; and McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.

54. Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, 138.

55. *Tremissis* of Arkadios; Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, pl. 4, nos. 82–83.

56. *Solidus* of Theodosios II and Pulcheria in the 430s; Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, pl. 13, nos. 350–52; pl. 17, nos. 436–43. *Solidus* of Empress Eudoxia; Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, pl. 11, nos. 273–90. Bellinger, DOC I, 7–8, nos. 6b–7h.2, pl. 1.

57. *Solidus* of Phokas; Grierson, DOC II/1, 152–59, nos. 1a.1–16, pl. 1.

58. *Solidus* of Herakleios; Grierson, DOC II/1, 67, 94, 244–55, nos. 1a.1–27, pl. 8.

59. J.-C. Cheynet and C. Morrisson, “Texte et image sur les sceaux byzantins: Les raisons d'un choix iconographique,” *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 4 (1994): 9–32; W. Seibt, “Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln, besonders im 11. Jahrhundert,” *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 1 (1987): 35–56, esp. 36–37.

60. Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. and tr. A. Cameron (London: Athlone Press, 1976), bk. I, vv. 37–38, 60–65.

61. D. Angelova, “The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas About Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium,” *Gesta* 43/1 (2004): 1–16. For the association of the Hellenistic queen with Tyche, see Smith, “Queens and Empress as Goddesses.” On the conflation of the image of Roman empresses with goddesses, see B. Bergmann, *The Moon and the Stars: Afterlife of a Roman Empress* (South Hadley, Mass.: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1999), 14–15; S. Wood, *Imperial Women: Study in Public Images, 40 BC–AD 68* (Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 1999), I, 15–16, 112–14, 121–24, 140–41, 281, 290–314; R. R. R. Smith, “Roman Portraits: Honors, Empresses, and Late Emperors” (review article), *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 214–15. For early Byzantium, see also Herrin, “The Imperial

- Feminine in Byzantium"; L. James, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (London/New York: Leicester University Press, 2001); and A. McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
62. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, ed. Cameron, bk. II, v. 53, and Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," 82–85.
63. Combefis, *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum*, col. 779, and Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," 82–85.
64. Andrew of Crete, Λόγος τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου ὕμνου, ed. T. Themelis, "Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος," *Nea Sion* 6 (1907): 826–33.
65. Ps. 44:10.
66. Herrin, "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium," 14–19. For the Maria Regina iconography and political meaning, see M. Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin* 7/2 (1925): 150–61; U. Nilgen, "Maria Regina—ein politischer Kultbildtypus," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981): 1–33; eadem, "Ein neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in Santa Susanna, Rom: Ein römisches Thema mit Variationen," in *Bedeutung in den Bildern: Festschrift für Jörg Traeger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Möseneder and G. Schüssler (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002), 231–45; J. Osborne, "Early Medieval Painting in San Clemente, Rome: The Madonna and Child in the Niche," *Gesta* 20/2 (1981): 299–310; and M. Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995*, ed. A. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk/Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1997), 173–204. For the theological concept, see H. Barré, "La royauté de Maria pendant les neuf premiers siècles," *Recherches de science religieuse* 29 (1939): 129–62.
67. M. Andaloro, "I mosaici parietali di Durazzo o dell'origine costantinopolitana del tema iconografico di Maria Regina," in *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst: Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. O. Feld and U. Peschlow (Monographien Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 10) (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), III, 103–12.
68. M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
69. P. J. Nordhagen, "The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua and Their Date," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae: Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 1 (1962): 53–72, esp. 56–57, 71; P. J. Nordhagen and P. Romanelli, *Santa Maria Antiqua* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1964; rpt. 1999), 32ff.; W. de Grüneisen, *Sante-Marie-Antique: Le caractère et le style des peintures du VII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1911); E. Tea, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua* (Milan: Società editrice "Vita e pensiero," 1937), 41–42, 171–73; and R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican City: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937–77), II/3, 249–68.
70. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II/3, 267.
71. The early images of Maria Regina in Rome have been linked to the Greek inhabitants of the city by S. Spain, "The Promised Blessing: The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *Art Bulletin* 71/4 (1979): 518–40, and J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne: Milieu du VII^e s.–fin du IX^e s.* (Mémoires de la classe des lettres, 2d ser., vol. 66/1) (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1983; rpt. 1993), I, 163–64. So, Maria Regina could easily be linked with an Eastern artistic tradition. A similar position is expressed by J. Osborne, "Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Art," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. A. Eastmond and L. James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 135–56, esp. 139–40.
72. I have omitted from this discussion the *loros*-clad Maria Regina image from Durazzo, Albania. Andaloro has argued for an Eastern origin of this iconography, while Valentino Pace has defended the traditional theory of Western origins of the theme; Andaloro, "I mosaici parietali di Durazzo o dell'origine costantinopolitana," and Pace, "Mosaici e pittura in Albania (VI–XIV sec.): Stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca," forthcoming.

73. Andaloro, "La datazione della tavola di Santa Maria à Trastevere," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 19–20 (1972–73): 139–215; D. Kinney, "Santa Maria in Trastevere from Its Founding to 1215" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1977). For the eighth-century date, see C. Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere: Storia, iconografia, stile di un dipinto romano dell'ottavo secolo* (Rome: Eliograf, 1961); idem, "Il restauro della Madonna della Clemenza," *Bollettino dell'Istituto centrale del restauro* 40–41 (Rome, 1964); E. Russo, "L'affresco di Turtura nel cimitero di Commodilla, Picon di S. Maria in Trastevere e le più antiche feste della Madonna à Roma," *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e archivio muratoriano* 88 (1979): 35–85, and 89 (1980–81): 71–150; *Aurea Roma: Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, ed. S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000), 416–23, 655–63, with recent bibliography.
74. P. J. Nordhagen, "Icons Designed for Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 453–60.
75. P. J. Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (705–707 A.D.) in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae: Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 3 (1968); idem, "S. Maria Antiqua: The Frescoes of the Seventh Century," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae: Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 8 (1978): 89–142; idem, "The Mosaics of John VII (705–707 A.D.)," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae: Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 2 (1965): 121–66; M. Andaloro, "I mosaici nell'Oratorio di Giovanni VII," in *Fragmenta picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano: Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 15 dicembre 1989–18 febbraio 1990*, ed. A. Ghidoli et al. (Rome: Argos, 1989), 169–77; and Nilgen, "Maria Regina—ein politischer Kultbildtypus."
76. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII (705–707 A.D.)," 124–29, and M. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: A. & C. Black, 1931; rpt. 1947), 142–44 (on the *trabea*).
77. Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 107–42, 197–220, 231.
78. R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 2) (Berlin/Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1929), 43–54; Grierson, *DOC II/1*, 78–80; Grierson, *DOC III/1*, 120–25; ODB, II, 1251–52, with bibliography; and J. Ball, "Byzantine Dress" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2001), 15–57.
79. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, nos. 13–18, 20–25, 29, 33, 34.
80. Grierson and Mays, *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins*, pl. 4, nos. 72–74 (Arkadios); pl. 15, no. 391 (Theodosios II); pls. 20–21, nos. 530–31, 556–59 (Leo I). Bellinger, *DOC I*, 270–72, nos. 11A–14E, pls. 60–61 (Tiberios I); 294–95, no. 2A, pl. 66; and 310, nos. 44C–44D, pl. 68 (Maurice). Grierson, *DOC II/1*, 163–68, nos. 26D.2–34, 36A–37C.1, pl. 2 (Phokas). R. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 7–12.
81. *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, nos. 12–18; Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, nos. 16 (Clementinus), 22 (Magnus), 32 (Orestes); Bühl, *Constantinopolis und Roma*, 107–42, 197–231. For the Carolingian revival of the images of Roma and Constantinopolis, see A. Cutler, "'Roma' and 'Constantinopolis' in Vienna," in *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 432) (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 43–64. Their appearance in the Carolingian court was triggered by the revival of the concept of empire.
82. *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, no. 18; Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, no. 29; W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer, 7) (Mainz: von Zabern, 1976), no. 28; Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 218–20.
83. The fasces consist of a bundle of sticks with an ax tied together. During processions the lictors, officials carrying fasces, would walk before the consul. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 64–65. For a discussion of the role Constantinopolis as a lictor, see Bühl, *Roma und Constantinopolis*, 218–23, 231.

84. PG 65, col. 712.
85. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, 7–12; Grierson, DOC II/1, 78; A. Cameron and D. Schauer, “The Last Consul: Basilus and His Diptych,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982): 126–45, esp. 139–42.
86. Cameron and Schauer, “The Last consul: Basilus and His Diptych,” 141–42.
87. Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, ed. Cameron, bk. IV, vv. 1, 108, 132, 146, 156, 211, 214, 224, 244, 254.
88. Tiberios I, Maurice, and Phokas still represent themselves on some of their coin issues wearing the consular *trabea triumphalis*. Starting with the reign of Herakleios, the emperor ceases to depict himself in consular attire.
89. Grierson, DOC II/1, 79, and II/2, pl. 37.
90. John Lydos, *De magistratibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903), II.2, and *Ioannes Lydus* (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1837), 166–67.
91. E. Piltz, “Trabea Triumphalis,” in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978), XIX, 428–44; Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 43–51.
92. On the formulation of this political claim, see T. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London: Faber, 1971), 141–72; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 126–29.
93. T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: Preliminary Report on the Year's Work, 1931–1932* (Paris: Oxford University Press for the Byzantine Institute, 1933–52), and, most recently, R. Nelson, “To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium,” in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. R. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 143–68, with bibliography.
94. Similarly, Christ is not dressed in imperial attire, but his heavenly courtiers are; see H. Maguire, “The Heavenly Court,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 247–58, esp. 257–58. For the angels in Nikaia, see G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 32) (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 42–43, 82–88, 120–24.
95. G. Dagron, “Nés dans le pourpre,” *Travaux et mémoires* 12 (1994): 105–42, along with a discussion of the etymology and use of the term *porphyrogenetos* in the larger context of imperial legitimacy and dynastic succession.
96. J. Herrin, “The Context of the Iconoclast Reform,” in *Iconoclasm*, ed. J. Herrin and A. Bryer (Birmingham: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977), 15–20, and eadem, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press 2001), 27, 38–50.
97. Dagron, “Nés dans le pourpre,” 112–13.
98. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), 104–8; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. 1, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, vol. III, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris: Institut français des études byzantines, 1953), 241–45; C. Mango, “The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photios,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9–10 (1956): 125–40.
99. Mango, “The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photios”; Photios, homily 10, in *Homiliai*, ed. V. Laourdas (Hellenika: Periodikon sungramma hetaireias makedonikon spoudon, 12) (Thessaloniki: Hetaireia makedonikon spoudon, 1959), 99–104; and idem, *The Homilies of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, ca. 820–ca. 891*, tr. C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 177–90.
100. V. Penna, “The Mother of God on Coins and Lead Seals,” in *Mother of God*, 209–17, and I. Kalavrezou, “Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics in the Byzantine Court,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, 53–80, esp. 61, n. 36.
101. Grierson, DOC III/1, 512, nos. 1–1b.2, pl. 34.
102. Mango, “The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photios,” 133; *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk. I, poem 106; P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London: Methuen; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 179.
103. Ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἀνεγειρομένη ἀψὶς τῇ μορφῇ τῆς παρθένου περιαστράπτειται, τὰς ἀχράντους χεῖρας ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξαπλούσης καὶ πραττόμενης τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὰ κατ'

ἐχθρῶν ἀνδραγαθήματα. From Photios, homily 10, sect. 6, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 102; English tr. Mango, *The Homilies of Photios*, 188.

104. A. Arnulf, “Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI.: Epigraphische und ikonographische Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Szepter Leons VI.,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990): 69–84. Arnulf revises the earlier interpretation of this object by K. Corrigan, “The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 407–16. A. Cutler has proposed that the ivory functioned as the finial of the box holding the imperial crown; Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 200–201.
105. Ἡ πύγῃ τῆς ζωῆς Ῥωμαίων, Παρθένε, Μήτηρ Θεοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, συστρατήγησον μόνη τοῖς δεσποταῖς ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ, τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἐκ σοῦ τὸ στέφος, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σε κέκτηνται κατὰ πάντα θυρεὸν ἀπροσμάχητον ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ, [. . .] σὲ γὰρ κέκτηνται ἰσχὺν κατ' ἐχθρῶν τροπαιοφόρον. From *De Ceremoniis*, 1.8, Bonn ed., 55; French tr. in *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, 8, pp. 50–51.
106. B. Flusin, “Les reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle et leur passé impérial à Constantinople,” in *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, ed. J. Durand, M.-P. Laffitte, and D. Giovannoni (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), 20–33; Kalavrezou, “Helping Hands for the Empire.” For the Mandylion, see *Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*.
107. The Pharos chapel offered the model for Sainte-Chapelle, the palatine chapel of the Capetian monarchy completed in 1245. Here were deposited many of the relics of the Pharos church, brought to France by king Louis IX the Pious. D. H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), and *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*.
108. M. Bacci, “La Vergine OIKOKYRA, Signora del Grande Palazzo: Lettura di un passo di Leone Tusco sulle cattive usanze dei greci,” in *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, ser. IV, vol. III/1 (Pisa, 1998), 261–79; Nicholas Mesarites in *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Programm des k. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg) (Würzburg: Königl. Universitätsdruckerei von H. Stürtz, 1907), sect. 2, p. 19, and sect. 16, p. 33; and Leo Tusco's record written in the period 1177–81, in PG 140, cols. 544–50.
109. PG 140, col. 548; Bacci, “La Vergine OIKOKYRA,” 264–65, 274–79.
110. PG 140, col. 549. Bacci interprets “conclave” as a chamber, where the icon was locked. Bacci, “La Vergine OIKOKYRA,” 267, 278–79. It would have been odd to remove the icon from the Pharos chapel and place it in a separate room exactly at the time when the Pharos was the focus of all the Easter ceremonies of the palace. Instead of a chamber, “conclave” could refer to a special icon container, or the wings of a triptych, which, when closed, hid the central image from view. Several other images at the Pharos were also kept in containers (or were triptychs that were closed on special occasions). They are mentioned by Mesarites in *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, sect. 2, p. 19, and E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1899), II, 110**–14** (on the Mandylion image and the Easter ceremonies).
111. “In Ecclesia utique dicti palatii, ubi sanctae constituunt reliquiae, sanctae Dei Genetricis imago post altare sita, quam quodam excellentiae privilegio vocant dominam domus; statim a capite ieiunii in conclavi clauditur usque ad magnum Sabbatum, panno illius portae operiuntur, similiter autem sancti Mantellis, sanctique Keramidii locos, Quadragesimae tempore, usque ad illud Sabbatum velaminibus tectos custodiunt, sanctae dei Genetricis imaginem, ut filios parturiat compellant, eaque mediante. Ipsam domini Mater, ut commater fiat, accersunt, hoc modo. Imagini sindonem connectunt, ut baptizatum puerum de manu sacerdotis.” From PG 140, col. 549.
112. For the establishment of the hereditary model of power, see Dagron, “Nés dans le pourpre,” 105–42.
113. C. Morrisson, “Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou (Washington, D.C.:

- Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), III, 909–66, esp. 950–52.
114. *De Ceremoniis*, Bonn ed., 433–40; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 168–70; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969; rpt. 1991), 283–93; and W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 499–505.
115. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 162, 169. For the Arab siege, see my discussion in Chapter 2.
116. Ps. 44.5. The emperor is frequently addressed with these words; see Photios, homily 10, sect. 8, and homily 18, sect. 5, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 104, 180, and Arnulf, “Eine Perle für das Haupt Leons VI.,” 75–78.
117. καλῶς ἦλθες, Νικηφόρε, αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων· καλῶς ἦλθες, Νικηφόρε, ἀναξ μέγιστε Ῥωμαίων· καλῶς ἦλθες, Νικηφόρε, ὁ τροπωσάμενος φάλαγγας πολεμίων· καλῶς ἦλθες, Νικηφόρε, ὁ πορθήσας πόλεις ἐναντίων· καλῶς ἦλθες, ἀνδριώτατε νικητᾶ, αἰσιδέσαστε· καλῶς ἦλθες, δι’ οὗ ὑπετάγησαν ἔθνη. Διὰ σοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ἡττηθεὶς κατεπτύθη· διὰ σοῦ τὰ σκῆπτρα Ῥωμαίων κρατύνονται· ἐντεινε οὖν καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ βασιλεύε. ἠλέησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀναδείξας σέ, Νικηφόρε, βασιλέα αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμαίων. εὐφραίνου τοίνυν, πόλις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὑπόδεξαι τὸν θεόστεπτον Νικηφόρον. ἦλθεν γὰρ ὄντως λάμπων τὴν ὑφήλιον πᾶσαν. *De Ceremoniis*, Bonn ed., 438–39.
118. Grierson, DOC III/2, 582–83, nos. 1.1–3, pl. 41.
119. Grierson, DOC III/2, 584–85, nos. 4.1–5.4, pl. 41. Grierson offers the same conclusion: “One may indeed suspect that the introduction of Class II of the *solidus*, with the figures of the Virgin and Nikephoros, was as much due to the wish to remove Basil II’s effigy from the coins as to one of rendering due honor to his benefactress.” Grierson, DOC III/2, 580.
120. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 170–75; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 293–98; Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State*, 505–12.
121. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, IX.12, ed. C. Hase, *Leonis Diaconi Calanoësis Historia* (CSHB, 5) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1828), 158, and John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Berlin: de

Gruyter, 1973), 310. See also my discussion of this procession in Chapter 2.

122. The chariot and the icon marked an innovation in the established triumphal rite; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 173.
123. Grierson, DOC III/2, 592–96, nos. 1–6c, pl. 42.

Chapter 2

1. F. Barišić, “Le siège de Constantinople par les Avars et les Slaves en 626,” *Byzantion* 24 (1954): 371–95; J. L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, IV) (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1972), 12–21; J. D. Howard-Johnston, “The Siege of Constantinople in 626,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (London: Variorum, 1995), 131–42.
2. Cameron, “The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople,” “The Virgin’s Robe,” “Images of Authority,” and “The Language of Images,” where she has argued that Marian icons were carried in procession. I am grateful to have had a chance to discuss the results of my research with her during the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium in spring 2000. In a more recent paper, delivered at the symposium on the Mother of God exhibition at the Benaki Museum, January 12–14, 2001, she has changed her position and argued that the patriarch carried only an *acheiropoietos* of Christ during the Avar siege.
3. Frolov, “La dédicace de Constantinople”; Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm.” Norman Baynes, in his study on the supernatural protectors of Constantinople, never discussed how Mary’s help was manifested during the siege. Baynes, “The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople,” *Annalecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949) 165–77.
4. Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI.*; P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik, neugriechische Philologie und byzantinische Kunstgeschichte der Universität, 1980); idem, “Bilder und Bilderstreit.” The same

observation has been made by Mango, “Constantinople as Theotokoupolis,” 22.

5. P. Speck, *Artabastos: Der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Poikila Byzantina 2) (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), 155–78.
6. I have followed the methodology of Cameron, Mango, and Gerhard Wolf in their study of the development of the text traditions of particular medieval images and their cults. Cameron, “The Mandylion and Byzantine Iconoclasm”; Mango, “The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople”; and Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*.
7. George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. A. Pertusi (Studia Patristica et Byzantina, 7) (Freising: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1959), 176–224. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana sub Heraclio imperatori* (BHG 10), in *Analecta Avarica (Seorsum Impressum ex Tomo XXX Dissertationum Philologicarum Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis)*, ed. L. Sternbach (Kraków: Cracoviae, Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1900); rpt. in *Traduction et commentaire de Phomélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* (BHG 10), ed. and tr. F. Makk (Opuscula Byzantina III) (Szeged: Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae, Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, no. 19, 1975). I have used Makk’s publication. The third seventh-century account of the siege is in *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 716–26.
8. See my discussion in Chapter 3.
9. For the translation of ἡ κυρία, see my discussion below the excerpt. The passage can also be translated as “When the principle day of the battle came for the judgment ordained by God” or “When the mistress of the battle came for the judgment ordained by God.”
10. Pertusi still kept the form αὐτὸ, as proposed by Sternbach. Consequently, the word referred to the τὸ φρικτὸν εἶδος. Yet the manuscripts show αὐτὸν, thus referring to the Judge, or Christ. See further Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum*, 27.
11. The word ἀντιπρόσωπον could also mean that the image was displayed to counteract the fear or to address the enemies face-to-face.
12. The phrase θεόντων χρημάτων refers also to perishable, material things as opposed to the Virgin’s permanent love and protection.

13. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum*, 27–29.
14. George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 193; *Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia*, ed. L. Tartaglia (Turin: Unione tipografica editrice torinese, 1998), 178–79.
15. In TLL *curia* refers to the building where the senate convenes; it can also function as a metonym for the senate. Κυρία could also refer to the Virgin; see the alternative translation in note 9 above.
16. P. Classen, *Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde: Diplomatische Studien zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter* (Byzantina keimena kai meletai, 15) (Thessaloniki: Kentron byzantinon ereunon, 1977), 101–4.
17. Scholars have suggested that this was the *acheiropoietos* image, the Kamoulia. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 51–55. In the twelfth century Kedrenos recorded that the emperor Justin II brought the Kamoulia to Constantinople in A.D. 573–74. Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., I, 685: ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀχειροποίητος ἀπὸ τῶν Καμουλιανῶν, κόμης τῆς Καππαδοκίας. Van Dieten has argued the opposite: that the Kamoulia image was not in Constantinople during the siege because it was taken by Herakleios on a military campaign in the East: *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI.*, 173–78.
18. T. Pekárý, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft: Dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (III. römische Herrscherbild, 5) (Berlin: Gerb. Mann Verlag, 1985), 130–31; Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm,” 133.
19. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. Loerke, *I vangeli di Rossano e le miniature* (Codici selecti phototypice impressi, 81) (Codices mirabiles, 1) (Rome: Salerno editrice; Graz: Akademische Druck, 1985–87), II, 145–52; P. Sevrugian, *Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope-Fragmente: Miniaturen und Theologie* (Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft, 35) (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990), 67–74, n. 586.
20. H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1934), 79–106; Pekárý, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft*, 130–31; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 103–7.

21. The image presented as the Judge by George of Pisidia conforms to an observation made by Leslie Brubaker in her discussion of the role of icons in the period before Iconoclasm. She has argued on the basis of the *Life of Artemios* that icons, when used in public in the seventh century, functioned in a legal context as guarantors; see Brubaker, "Icons Before Iconoclasm?" esp. 1233, 1235.
22. Classen, *Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde*, 17-41.
23. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, 74-97. The Greek text was first published in *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae: Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, ed. A. Mai (Rome: Sacri Consilii Propagando Christiano Nomini, 1853), VI, 423-37. For recent bibliography, see S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Avarica: Über die Awarengeschichte und ihre Quellen* (Opuscula Byzantina, 8) (Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, 24) (Szeged: Acta Universitatis de Attila József, 1986), 187-95; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, T. Dér, and T. Olajos, "Breviarum Homiliae Theodori Syncelli de Obsidione Avarica Constantinopolis (BHG 1078m)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990): 147-82.
24. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses*, 114-17, 138. "Epiphaneia," in RE (neue), III, 1115. For the reuse of pagan statues at the city walls to ward off enemies in late antique Asia Minor, see James, "Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard," 12-20.
25. Gal. 6:14.
26. Num. 10:34.
27. Ps. 67:1-3.
28. Καὶ Μωσὴς μὲν ἦνίκα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀμαλῆκ πρὸς πόλεμον ἔταπτεν, τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξεπέτασε (τὸν σταυρὸν γὰρ προετύπου τῷ σχήματι), Ἰακώβ δὲ καὶ Ὡρ τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰς χεῖρας ὑπὲρειδον· βαρεῖαι γὰρ αὐταί, αἰνιτιζόμεναι τὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀδύνατον, ὅπερ ἠσθένει τῆς σαρκὸς τῷ φρονήματι, διὸ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπέσταλκεν· ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς Μωσὴς τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ τὸν τύπον, ὃν καὶ δαίμονες φρίττουσι (φασὶ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἀχειροποίητον) ἀθώοις ἔρας χερσὶν (οὐ γὰρ ἔδειτο τοῦ ὑπερῆidonτος, ὅλον ἑαυτὸν σταυρώσας κόσμῳ, κατὰ τὸ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον) ὥσπερ ὅπλον ἀκαταμάχητον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως διήλθε σὺν

- δάκρυσιν τοῦτον παραδεικνὺς ταῖς ἀερίοις τοῦ σκότους δυνάμεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐκ δύσεως φάλαγγι· σιωπῶσα δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καθὰ Μωσὴς ὁ πρῶτος ἔβόα πρὸς κύριον, ἦνίκα τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐποίησε τοῦ λαοῦ προπορεύεσθαι· ἔξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου καὶ φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντές σε· τούτοις δὲ προσετίθη Λαβὶδ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ ῥήματα· ὥς ἐκλείπει καπνός, ἐκλιπέτωσαν· ὡς τήκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρός, οὕτως ἀπόλονται ἔθνη ἁλλόφυλα ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἐπιβεβηκότος ἐπὶ δυσμῶν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγκατάβασιν. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, sect. 17, p. 81.
29. *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 716-26.
30. ὅτι ἐγὼ θεωρῶ γυναῖκα σεμνοφοροῦσαν περιτρέχουσαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος μόνην οὖσαν. *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 725. For the association of this image with the tradition of Athena, see Chapter 3.
31. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, 80.
32. George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 182-83; Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, sects. 14-15, 17, 33-39, 51, 52, pp. 79-82, 87-90, 95-96; *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 725. See also Chapter 3.
33. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 122.
34. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 12, 74-75. The image was a semi-*acheiropoiotos*. It was allegedly drawn by Saint Luke and painted with colors by angels.
35. LP, 443. See also Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 37-44, and M. Andaloro, "L'acheropita in ombra del Laterano," in *Il volto di Cristo*, ed. G. Morello and G. Wolf (Milan: Electa, 2000), 43-45.
36. On the papacy and the Lombards, see Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*.
37. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228) (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 167-226, esp. 209-14, 226. The Greek words used for the procession and the action are λῖτη, λιτανεία, and λιτανεύω. I will use *litania* (λιτανεία) in the singular, and *litaniai* (λιτανεῖαι) in the plural.

38. The stational liturgy was an urban procession that passed through the streets of the city and culminated in the celebration of Mass by the patriarch in a church designated for that occasion. Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, 36-37.
39. John Chrysostomos, PG 50, col. 700; Sozomenos, PG 67, col. 1537; *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 529.
40. PG 50, cols. 699-796 (holy martyr Phokas of Pontos); PG 63, cols. 469-74 (unknown martyr). In this procession in A.D. 398 the empress herself carried the box of relics. Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, 182-83, 184.
41. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N. P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), I, 144-45. See also Brubaker, "Icons Before Iconoclasm?"
42. TLG, under ἀχειροποιήτος. A similar observation is made by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 37-39, 118*-22*.
43. The reference to an *acheiropoiotos* image ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. ca. 335-94) is a later interpolation done in the period A.D. 600-750; see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 43-44, 12**=28**. The first reference to an *acheiropoiotos* appears in Evagrius's (A.D. ca. 536-94) account of the siege of Edessa in A.D. 544 (Eccl. Hist. bk. IV.27): *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia*, eds. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London: Methuen & Co., 1898), 175; English tr. in *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, tr. M. Whitby (Translated Texts for Historians, 33) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 226-27, 323-26. See also Cameron, "The Mandyion and Byzantine Iconoclasm," 38-39, and Speck, *Die Interpolationen in den Akten des Konzils von 787 und die Libri Carolini* (Poikila Byzantina 16) (Bonn: Habelt, 1998), 120-21, who argues that the passage about the *acheiropoiotos* is interpolated.
44. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 55-57; A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris 1943-46), II, 343-57; Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," 118-21; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 49-57; H. Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Kessler and Wolf, 129-51; and idem, "Il Mandyion," in *Il volto di Cristo*, ed. Morello and Wolf, 67-99.
45. A similar conclusion is reached by Barber, *Figure and Likeness*.
46. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 40-196; Cameron, "The Mandyion and Byzantine Iconoclasm"; Kessler, "Il Mandyion"; and Barber, *Figure and Likeness*, 11-37.
47. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 123*-35*, 158*-249*, 3**=129**.
48. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, 226-27, 323-26. In the first half of the ninth century the story was modified and the rescue attributed to a public procession with the Edessa image of Christ on the city walls; *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 35.
49. For Philippikos, see Theophylaktos Simokattes, *Historiae*, II.2-3, III.1, 11-12, in *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1887; rpt. 1972, with corr. P. Wirth), 73-74, 110, and *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, tr. L. M. and M. Whitby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 46, 73. For Herakleios, see George of Pisidia, *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 250. See also the discussion of these sources in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 50-55.
50. Zacharias of Mitylene, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, ed. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London: Methuen & Co., 1899), 320-21; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 1**=9**. See also Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 53-57, and Brubaker, "Icons Before Iconoclasm?" 1227-30.
51. Brubaker, in her critique of Kitzinger's theory, has concluded that the icons acquired special veneration only in the late seventh century; Brubaker, "Icons Before Iconoclasm?" 1253-54. See also M.-F. Auzépy, "L'évolution de l'attitude face au miracle à Byzance (VIIe-IXe siècle)," in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Âge: XXVe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Orléans, juin 1994* (Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public) (Publications de la Sorbonne, histoire ancienne et médiévale, 34) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), 30-46. Speck has argued more radically that the references to icons performing miracles are interpolated in the vitae of Saint Symeon the Younger, Saint

Artemios, and Saint Theodore of Sykeon in the ninth century; Speck, "Wunderheilige und Bilder."

52. ὁ τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς αἱματώδεις ἐκχύσεις ἔχειν νομίζων εἰς τρισάθλιον κράτος, τῆς γῆς τὸ κῆτος, τὸ πρόσωπον Γοργόνος. Οὐχ εἶλες αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ Περσέως πλάνος, ἀλλ' ἀντιτάξας τῷ φθορεῖ τῶν παρθένων τὸ φρικτὸν εἶδος τῆς ἀχράντου Παρθένου· αὐτῆς γὰρ εἶχες τὴν βοηθὸν εἰκόνα ὅτε προσήλθες τῇ βορᾷ τοῦ θηρίου· καθεῖλες αὐτόν, οὐ κρεμασθεῖσαν κόρην μίαν σεσωκώς, ἀλλὰ πόλεις ὅλας. From George of Pisidia, *Herakleias*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 252.
53. Ἡράκλειος γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀφρικῆς πλοῖα πολλὰ καὶ στρατὸν ἄπειρον ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς καὶ Μαυριτανίας ἐπισυνάξας τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν κατέλαβεν ἐπιφερόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς φησὶ Γεώργιος ὁ Πισίδιος. From George Harmatolos, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904; rpt. Stuttgart, 1978, with corr. P. Wirth), II, 665.
54. Τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ὀκτωμβρίῳ δ', ἡμέρα β', ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ', ἦκεν ὁ Ἡράκλειος ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς φέρων πλοῖα κασπελλωμένα, ἔχοντα τοῖς καταρτίοις κυβώτια, καὶ εἰκόνας τῆς θεομήτορος, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Πισίδιος Γεώργιος λέγει. From Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883–85; rpt. Hildesheim, 1963), I, 298 (A.M. 6102 [A.D. 609/10]); English tr. in *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, tr. and ed. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 427.
55. No. 2181 in JE, I, 253. The text is printed in G. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris/Leipzig: H. Welter, 1901–27; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1960–61), XIII, cols. 92C–100A, and reprinted in PG 98, cols. 147–56. I would like to thank Paul Speck for bringing this text to my attention. The authenticity of the letter has been questioned. Jean Gouillard argued that the letter was not written by Pope Gregory II but by Patriarch Germanos, based on the similarity of this letter to another written by Germanos to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis; Gouillard, "Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: Le témoignage de Grégoire II?" *Travaux et mémoires* 3 (1968): 243–307. Speck has argued that the letter is genuine, though the

excerpt (Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XIII, p. 93 C2, after λιτανεύουσιν, to p. 97 D3, finishing at γνώσεως) is an interpolation composed in the second half of the ninth century; Speck, *Artabastos*, 155–78. See also P. Conte, *Regesto delle lettere dei papi del secolo VIII: Saggi* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1984), 49–77. While Conte has never clearly stated his position, he has been inclined to accept the letter as genuine. The same position is also maintained by Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus*, 119–22.

56. 1 Kings 2:4.
57. Wisd. of Sol. 5:20.
58. The edited text reads ἡ κίνησις, but this word makes no sense. Most likely the original word was ἐνίκησας, which was then copied as ἐκίνησας and finally appeared as ἡ κίνησις. The Latin version of the text also suggests ἐνίκησας. Yet I have not had the chance to check the manuscripts transmitting the text.
59. Ps. 44 (45):12, or Ps. 44:13.
60. Speck, *Artabastos*, 169–71. For the Akathistos, see Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 17–39; Wellesz, "The Akathistos: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography"; Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 89–97; Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*. On the Latin version of the Akathistos, see M. Huglo, "L'ancienne version latine de l'hymne acathiste," *Le Muséon* 64 (1951): 1–35; G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* (Spicilegium Friburgense, 2) (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1958), 36ff.
61. The *diegesis ophelimos*, PG 92, cols. 1354D–1372, esp. col. 1364B (BHG 1060), and the *lectio Triodii*, PG 92, cols. 1347–1354B, esp. col. 1352C (BHG 1063). Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 19ff., and Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI.*, 18–20, n. 67.
62. Speck, *Artabastos*, 169–71.
63. Huglo, "L'ancienne version latine de l'hymne acathiste," 33–34, and Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*, 45.
64. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XIII, cols. 92C–100A. For the interpretation of the sequence of the events, see Speck, *Artabastos*, 170–71.
65. Speck, *Artabastos*, 164.
66. Speck, however, has interpreted the lines as referring to a procession; Speck, *Artabastos*, 164–65.

67. I thank Alexander Alexakis for this reference. He is currently preparing a study of the letters of Pope Gregory and Germanos.

68. Ps. 44:13.
69. About the argument for interpolation in the letter, see Speck, *Artabastos*, 155–78.
70. Huglo, "L'ancienne version latine de l'hymne acathiste," 33–34.
71. SynaxCP, 901–4.
72. Similarly, if the victory were in fact secured through the intervention of a Marian icon, this event would have frustrated Emperor Leo III's (717–41) Iconoclast policy established in 730.
73. *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 32–50.
74. For the importance of the *maphorion* of the Virgin in the early cult, see Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe," 42–56.
75. Andrew of Crete, PG 97, cols. 1301D and 1304C; *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, PG 95, col. 321; Patriarch Nikephoros I, *Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. Featherstone (Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca, 33) (Turnhout: Brepols; Louvain: University Press, 1997), 142; Stephen the Younger, *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, ed. and tr. Auzépy, 99–100; *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 39, sect. 7.5; George Harmatolos, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, II, 741, 785; Continuatus of George Harmatolos in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, 33) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1838), 773; Theophanes Continuatus, III.11, Bonn ed., 101; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., II, 111; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 59 (on Emperor Theophilos, sect. 10). See also Chapter 4.
76. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 8–28, and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 63–73, with bibliography.
77. By the eleventh century, the Hodegetria was identified both as a supernatural defender of Constantinople and as the icon painted by Saint Luke; see Chapter 4.
78. Photios, homily 4, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 40–52; English tr. in *The Homilies of Photius*, 102–3.
79. LP, I, 443; II, 110.
80. Ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀχειρόγραφτος τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου εἰκὼν, ἣν ὅτε ἡ νόσος ἐπικωμᾶν πέφυκεν πάσαις πόλεσιν, ἤγουν ἐν τῇ τοῦ αὐγουστου ὥρᾳ κατὰ τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς δεσποίνης, πανδημεὶ ἐκπομπεύοντες

- καὶ ὑποτιθέντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ προσκυνοῦντες πάσης ψυχικῆς καὶ σωματικῆς ἀλεξιφάρμακον νόσου οἱ Ῥωμαῖς περιφέρουσιν. From Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus* III, 349.
81. LP, I, 443; II, 110. See also Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, and H. Kessler and J. Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
82. All the Roman examples of Marian icons taken in processions date to the period after the Byzantine Iconoclasm. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 97–98, 145–60, 319, 330.
83. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 5ff.
84. οὐ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστρατήγησε, οὐδὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν συνετάξατο, οὐδὲ τὸ συγκλητικὸν προσετάξατο· οὐδὲ τῶν δοράτων ἦλθε ἡ χρύσις, οὐδὲ φάσγανα ἐγυμνώθησαν, οὐδὲ κόρυθες ἤστραψαν, οὐδὲ ἀσπίδες τὰς ἀντιτυπίας ἐδέξαντο· ἀλλ' ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑλικῶν· καὶ ὑποδεχομένων ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων τὴν ἀντιπάθησιν ἡ τῆς παναγίου καὶ παναώμου ζώνῃ ἐτέλεσε τὰ νικητικά. Andrew of Crete, Λόγος τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου ὕμνου, ed. Themelis, "Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος," 828.
85. For a collection of the sources, see Barišić, "Le siège de Constantinople par les Avars"; S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Ein Versuch zur Sammlung und chronologischen Anordnung der griechischen Quellen der Awarengeschichte nebst einer Auswahl von anderssprachigen Quellen* (Opuscula Byzantina, 1) (Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica, 16) (Szeged: Acta Universitatis de Artilla József, 1972), 91–92; and idem, *Az Avar Történelem Forrásai: Die Quellen der Awarengeschichte* (Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár, 5) (Szeged: Tudományegyetem, 1992), 184–204.
86. Nikephoros I, patriarch of Constantinople, *Opuscula historica*, ed. de Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880; rpt. 1975), 17–19; Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, Bonn ed., 315–16 (A.M. 6117 [A.D. 624–25]); English tr. in *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. and ed. Mango and Scott, 446–48; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., I, 727–28; Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, 29) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1837), 161–63.
87. SynaxCP, 873–74.

88. SynaxCP, 869–70, MS H = Jerusalem, S. Crucis, Cod. Gr. 40, dated to A.D. 960s. See also A. Luzzi, *Studi sul Sinassario di Costantinopoli* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 8) (Rome: Università di Roma “La Sapienza,” 1995), 5ff.
89. SynaxCP, MS Cg = Leipzig, Cod. Gr. R. II. 25, originally from the monastery of San Giorgio di Tucco in Calabria, dated to A.D. 1172. G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo* (Studi e testi, 68) (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 158–66, and L. Pieralli, “Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: La famiglia C,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60 (1994): 399–470, esp. 463–68.
90. ‘Ο οὖν πατριάρχης Σέργιος λαβὼν σεπτὰς καὶ ἀγίας εἰκόνας τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου βασιλεύουσας τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὴν ἀχειροποίητον τοῦ σωτήρος, περιῆει λιτανεύων μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν, ἑξαυτοῦμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταχίστην βοήθειαν. From SynaxCP, 873–74.
91. See note 89 above.
92. Vienna, Codex Vind. Gr. 45, dated to the twelfth century, also transmits the same version of the text. *Analecta Avarica*, ed. Sternbach, 334–42.
93. *Diegesis ophelimos*, PG 92, cols. 1354D–1372, and PG 102, cols. 1336–1353 (BHG 1060); and *lectio Triodii*, PG 92, cols. 1347–1354B (BHG 1063). Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum*, 58–59, 136–40; idem, “Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert: Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels,” *Revue des études byzantines* 44 (1986): 209–27; and M. van Esbroeck, “Un panégyrique de Theodore Studite pour la Fête liturgique des sièges de Constantinople,” in *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, ed. E. Carr, S. Parenti, A. Thiermeyer, and E. Velkovska (Studia Anselmiana, 110, *Analecta liturgica* 17) (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 525–36. Both BHG 1060 and BHG 1063 have not yet been properly studied and dated by philologists. Speck deplores the status of the study of these texts in “Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert,” 212, n. 19, 226–27.
94. Σέργιος δὲ ὁ ἱεράρχης, τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας τῆς Θεομήτορος, αἷς μάλιστα καὶ βρέφος ὁ Σωτὴρ ἔξεικονισθεὶς, ἐν ἀγκάλαις τῆς μητρὸς ἐνεφέρετο, ταύτας λαβὼν, περιῆει τὰ τεῖχη· τῇ μὲν πόλει
- ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τούτου περιποιούμενος, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις πτόησιν, καὶ ὄλεθρον, καὶ φυγὴν· ἅ πάντα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπελθόντα αὐτοῖς, ἀφανισμῷ ἕπαντας δέδωκε παντελεῖ. PG 92, col. 1356D.
95. Λαβὼν πάλιν ὁ Πατριάρχης τὸν ἀχειροποίητον τύπον τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν τῆς Παναγίας τιμίαν ἐσθήτα, ἔτι τε τὰ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα, διὰ τῶν τευχῶν περιήρχετο· καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τό, Ἐξεγέρθητι, Κύριε, ἔλεγεν προσευχόμενος, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν ὡς καπνὸς καὶ τακῆσονται ὡς κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρός. PG 92, col. 1357A. The last sentence is a biblical quotation, Ps. 67 (68):2–3.
96. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum*, 137.
97. Speck, “Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert,” 226–27, and M. van Esbroeck, “Une chronique de Maurice à Héraclius dans un récit des sièges de Constantinople,” *Bedi Kartlisa, revue de kartvelologie* 34 (1976): 74–96, esp. 78; idem, “Un panégyrique de Theodore Studite,” 526. Carr’s argument about the emergence of an identification of the Virgin’s protection of Constantinople with her *maphorion* in the siege of 860 could suggest a *post quem* date for the *diegesis*. Yet the word ἐσθήτα used in the *diegesis* for the robe differs from the περιβολή and στολή used in Photios’s sermon on the siege in 860. See Carr, “Threads of Authority,” 63, n. 27.
98. Without giving any evidence, Szádeczky-Kardoss attributes the *diegesis* to Symeon Metaphrastes (d. ca. 1000): Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Az Avar Történelem Forrásai*, 172, 196–97. Yet the Metaphrastian text of the *Synaxarion* (MS H in the SynaxCP) differs from the *diegesis ophelimos* because it does not mention icons.
99. *Lectio Triodii*, PG 92, cols. 1347–1354B (BHG 1063). See also *Triodion katanyktikon: Periechon apasanten anakousan auto akolouthian tes hagias kai megalis tessarakostes* (Rome 1897), 506ff.
100. ‘Ο δὲ πατριάρχης τὰς θείας εἰκόνας τῆς Θεομήτορος μετὰ παντὸς ἐπαγόμενος τοῦ πλήθους περιῆει τὸ τεῖχος ἄνωθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῶν πορίζόμενος· ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάρβαρος ἔξ ἑώρας, Χαγάνος δὲ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πυρπολεῖν τὰ πέριξ τῆς πόλεως ἤρχοντο· ὁ πατριάρχης τὴν ἀχειροποίητον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα, καὶ τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ

ξύλα, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τιμίαν ἐσθήτα τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐπιφερόμενος, διὰ τῶν τευχῶν περιήρχετο. PG 92, cols. 1349C, D.

101. Similar remarks about the significance of interpolations are made by Speck, “Wunderheilige und Bilder,” and Brubaker, “Icons Before Iconoclasm?”
102. Mango has translated the words τὴν λιτανείαν ἐποιούμεθα as “performed the litany,” yet the expression could also refer to the act of instituting a procession, because the same words λιτή and λιτανεία designate a procession. For the use of the terms, see Baldovin, *The Urban Character*, 209–14, 226.
103. Photios, homily 4, sect. 4, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 45; English tr. in *The Homilies of Photius*, 102–3. See also C. Belting-Ihm, “*Sub matris tutela*”: *Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der Schutzmantelmadonna* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976), 43ff. For the linkage between the *maphorion* of the Virgin and Mary’s power of protection, see Carr, “Threads of Authority.”
104. On the translation of the relics of Saint John the Baptist in A.D. 956, see Kalavrezou, “Helping Hands for the Empire.” On the Trier ivory as a container for the relics of Saint Stephen refurbished in the late ninth century, see L. Brubaker, “The Chalke Gate, the Construction of the Past, and the Trier Ivory,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999): 258–85. For the translation of the Mandylion and the special ritual ablution performed during Lent, see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 110**–13**, and Kessler, “Il Mandylion.” For a general discussion of the increased role of relics after Iconoclasm, see C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (Birmingham Byzantine Studies, 1) (London: Variorum, 1982), 145. It remains for future research to explore how the Byzantine emperors immediately after Iconoclasm realigned their power with the cult of relics. During this period collection of relics and formation of new ceremonies focused on relics in the imperial court seem to intensify.
105. ‘Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ναῷ γενόμενος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἅμα τῷ πατριάρχει, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σορῷ εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἱκετηρίας ᾠδὰς ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, τὸ ὠμοφόριον τῆς Θεοτόκου λαβὼν ἐξῆι τοῦ ναοῦ, ὅπλοις ἀσφαλεῖ

φραξάμενος. τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ οὖν στόλον κοσμήσας ἀριπρεπῶς τὸν ὠρισμένον κατεῖληφε τόπον. From Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 219 (Emperor Romanos Lekapenos, sect. 12).

106. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 171–75.
107. μετὰ μεγίστων τροπαίων ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, τοὺς ἀστικούς πρὸ τῶν περιβόλων κατελιφώς, στεφάνους αὐτὸν καὶ σκήπτρους δεξιουμένους, ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων ἐξεργασμένοις πολυτελῶν. ἦγον δὲ καὶ χρυσοκόλλητον λευκόπλων ἄρμα· οὗ προσεπιβῆναι τοῦτον ἤξιον, καὶ τὸν νενομισμένον καταγαγεῖν θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν στεφάνους καὶ τὰ σκήπτρα προσήκατο, καὶ πολλαπλασίως τοὺτους δώροις ἡμεῖψατο· ἐπιβῆναι δὲ τοῦ ἄρματος οὐκ ἠέσχετο· ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς Θεομήτορος εἰκόνα, ἐνηγκαλισμένην τὸν θεάνθρωπον λόγον, ἣν ἐκ Μυσίας εἴληφεν, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ ἄρματος χρυσήλατον θρόνον ἀνέθηκε, τὰς ἀλουργοὺς τῶν Μυσῶν στολὰς ὑποθεῖς, καὶ τὰ στέμματα. αὐτὸς δὲ, ἵππῳ κέλῃτι ἐποχούμενος, μετόπισθεν εἵλετο, τειταινωμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν διαδήματι, καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους φέρων καὶ τὰ σκήπτρα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. From Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, IX.12, Bonn ed., 158.
108. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 173–74.
109. The captured panel was probably perceived as a sign of divine right for the victory; otherwise, God would not have permitted the holy icon to be taken from its home.
110. τῶν δὲ ῥως ἀποπλευσάντων, τῶν παρὰ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς φρουρίων τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ πόλεων πρόνοιαν θέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς ἦθη τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέξευξεν. ὃν ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τῆς συνόδου καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τέλει μετὰ παιάνων καὶ ἐπινικίων εὐφημῶν ὑπεδέξαντο στεφανηφοροῦντες, τέθριππον ὄχημα λευκοπῶλων ἔχοντες ἡτοιμασμένον πάνυ διαπρεπῶς καὶ τούτου ἐπιβάντα ἀξιοῦντες θριαμβεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ μὴδὲν σοβαρὸν ἐθέλων, ἀλλὰ μέτριον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, τοὺς μὲν προσενηχθέντας ἀνειλήφει στεφάνους καὶ ἵππῳ λευκῷ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐξεπλήρωσεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρματι τὰς Βουλγαρικὰς θεῖς τῶν βασιλέων στολὰς καὶ ἄνωθεν τούτων εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος ὡς πολιοῦχου, προπορεύεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ διατάξατο. From Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 310 (Emperor Tzimisces, sect. 18).
111. The event is depicted two centuries later in the Chronicle of Skylitzes, Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Cod. Gr. 338, fol. 172v. This miniature

does not record Tzimiskes' actual entry with the Marian icon but a fictive account of the events. For the Madrid Skylitzes, see *Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 338, pp. 501–2, with bibliography.

112. English tr. from Michael Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: Chronographia*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), 36. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὗτος καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου θάρσους ἐπὶ τὸν Βασιλείον ᾗκει· ὁ δὲ προβέβλητο μὲν τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, καὶ ξιφηφόρος εἰσίστηκει, θατέρᾳ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μητρὸς διηγκάλιστο, καρτερώτατον πρόβλημα τῆς ἀκαθέκτου ἐκείνου ὁρμῆς ταύτην ποιούμενος. From Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, 1.16, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed. S. Impellizzeri (Vicenza: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 1984), 1, 26.
113. We know of a similar personal icon of the Virgin used by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, as recorded in an epigram. S. Lampros, “Ο Μαρκανδὸς κῶδιξ 524,” *Neos Hellenomnemon* 8 (Athens 1911): 3–192, esp. 7, poem no. 10.
114. A. Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 62–66. Similarly, it has been argued that the coins of Basil I that employ an image of the Virgin were minted toward the end of his rule and hence have no connection with the Bardas Phokas incident. B. Pitarakis and C. Morrisson, “Miliarsion anonyme avec la Vierge Nikopoios: Une nouvelle datation,” *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 56/3 (2001): 33–36.
115. The translation is mine; Sewter proposed instead: “More important than that, somebody came up with the icon of the Theometor.” Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 69.
116. Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 69–70. Καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐμφανίζεται, ἣν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ὥσπερ τινὰ στρατηγὸν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου φύλακα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συνήθως ἐπάγονται· μόνῃ γὰρ αὕτῃ οὐχ ἄλωτὸς ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἐγεγόνει χερσίν. Ὡς δ' οὖν εἶδεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ γλυκὺ τουτὶ θέαμα (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως καὶ περὶ τὸ σέβας ταύτης θερμότητος), ἀνεθάρσεν ὅς τε εὐθύς καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς περιπτύσσειτο, ὡς τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχεν, ὡς γνησιώτατα καθωμίλει, ὡς τῶν εὐεργειῶν ἀνεμνήσκον καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκείνων συμμαχιῶν, αἷς τὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις

κράτος διακινδυνεύον ἐρρύσατό τε καὶ ἀνεσώσατο. Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.10–11, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, 1, 84.

117. Kaldellis has argued that Psellos sarcastically contrasted the popular belief in the powers of the icon with the fact that the panel could only save itself. Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia*, 62–66.
118. George Dennis has argued that the story of the caesar Bardas in A.D. 866 involved a prayer in front of the Hodegetria icon before his departure for war. But the text does not mention any icon; it only locates the action inside the Hodegon monastery. Dennis, “Religious Services in the Byzantine Army,” in *Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, 107–17; Theophanes Continuatus, IV.41, Bonn ed., 204. Otherwise, the carrying of Marian icons in campaign is not mentioned at all in the extant military treatises written in the tenth century. Panels of the Virgin start to appear in the context of war only in the eleventh century. For the tenth-century sources, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, in *Constantine Porphyrogenitus: Three Military Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. J. Hal-don (CFHB, 28) (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), and the *Strategika*, in *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, ed. and tr. E. McGeer (Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 33) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995). For a further discussion of icons in the context of war, see Chapter 3.
119. This severe punishment was usually meted out to people who had committed a grave crime, not just a small felony; hence the irony in the text.
120. ἕτερον δὲ τι συνηνέχθη, ξῆλον μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως δικαιοσύνης φαντάζον, ἄμετρον δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐσεβῆ συντιθέμενον. Ἐγκληθεὶς γάρ τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀνίσκον Τουρκικὸν ὑφελόμενος, παρήχθη μὲν κατ' ὄψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ δεδεμένος, τιμωρία δ' ἐψηφίσθη τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος ὑπερφέρουσα· οὐ γὰρ ἐν χρήμασιν ἡ ξημία διώριστο ἀλλ' ἐν ῥίνδῳ ἐκτομῇ. πολλὰ δὲ παρακαλέσαντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ προεμένου, καὶ προβαλλομένου μεσίτην τὴν πάνσεπτον εἰκόνα τῆς πανυμνήτου δεσποίνης θεοτόκου τῆς Βλαχερνίτισσης, ἥτις εἰώθει τοῖς πιστοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν ἐκστρατείαις ὡς ἀπροσμάχητον

ὄπλον συνεκστρατεύεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆει οἶκτος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰδῶς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκονίσματος ἀσυλίας· ὁρῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς εἰκόνος βασταζομένης, ἀπετμήθη τὴν ῥίνα ὁ δαίλαιος, κράξας μέγα καὶ στενάξας τὸ βύθιον. From Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. W. Brunet de Presle and I. Bekker (CSHB, 50) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi), 152–53.

121. Tarragona, Public Lib., Tarragonensis lat. 55; Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55,” 128–31.
122. Understood “the Hodegon.”
123. Understood “the Hodegetria icon.”
124. “Milia enim sunt in Constantinopolitana urbe miracula sanctorum pro multitudine et assiduitate eorum. In qua urbe nobili magis splendent Dei genetricis miracula et mirifica opera quam in alico loco mundi. Hoc in merito. Ibi siquidem magis amatur et honoratur quam in aliis mundi regionibus. Dicitur enim et creditur esse propria et specialis civitas Dei genetricis. Nam cum olim Constantinus imperator Christianae regionis pius amator cogitaret et cogitando quereretur quo loco aptius civitatem edificaret que suo in imperio principatum teneret, apparuit ei Christus ut in libris Grecorum continetur et hostendes ei locum quo civitatem quam in animo habebat edificare construeret, ait illi: ‘Vade et in hoc loco civitatem fac matri mee.’ Qui cepit et prefecit urbem Constantinopolim in loco sibi demonstrato a dominio. Veniens denique ad obitum, comendavit eam in manus Dei et sue piissime matris. Que custos est gratissima die ac nocte sicut in multis declaratur miraculis. De quibus unum tantum dicam ad eiusdem genetricis Dei laudem et honorem.

“Quodam tempore obsessa est undique predicta urbs Constantinopolitana et per terram et per mare in circuitu a duobus exercitibus. Hostes vehementer instabant ut eam caperent. Constantinopolitani vero ab hostibus circumclusi nec iam valentes resistere illorum tam magne virtuti ad illud tutum refugium quod habent post Deum suis omnibus in necessitatibus confugerunt et Dei genetricis basilicam petierunt. Cuius ibi sanctam accipientes imagines, per totam urbem circumtulērunt, sequentes eam universi cantando Deique genetricis clemenciam implorando ut civitatem suam ab hostium iam circumvallantium

protegeret periculo.” From Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55,” 128–29.

125. For discussion of the Byzantine tradition linking the dedication to the Virgin, see Chapter 1, note 52 above.
126. Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55,” 127. For translation and interpretation of the account of the procession, see Chapter 4.
127. Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55,” 128–31.
128. 1 Kings 12:22; Ps. 43 (44):24.
129. Ps. 82 (83):2.
130. Joel 2:17.
131. Ὅ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν φιλόχριστος λαὸς, διηνεκεῖς μετὰ δακρῶν ποιούμενοι τὰς λιτάς, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν εἰρηνικῇ καταστάσει· τὸ δὲ πάνσεπτον ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λαβόντες, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα τῆς παναγίου Παρθένου, περιήεσαν τὸ τεῖχος, αἶροντες ἐπὶ Θεὸν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ λέγοντες· Ἀνάστηθι, Κίριε, μὴ ἀπόσῃ τὸν λαόν σου εἰς τέλος· ὅτι ἰδοὺ οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου ἤχησαν, καὶ οἱ μισοῦντές σε ἦραν κεφαλὴν· μὴ δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος, τοῦ κατάρξαι ἡμῶν ἔθνη, μήποτε εἴπωσι· Ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῶν· Ἀλλὰ γινώτωσαν, ὅτι ὄνομά σοι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. PG 92, col. 1365C.
132. Ὅ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἱερὸς λαὸς τὸ σεπτὸν ξύλον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τὴν σεβάσμιαν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος ὁδηγητρίας ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ τεῖχος περιεκύκλουν, σὺν δάκρυσι τὸν Θεὸν ἱλεούμενοι. PG 92, col. 1352D.
133. By the eleventh century the Hodegetria had been identified as the icon painted by Saint Luke; see Chapter 4.
134. “Leo Ysaurus, imperavit anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi vii^o xviii^o. Seguenti anno, Constantinopolitani Saracenis, qui de Egipto et Palestina venerant, prelio fortiter restiterunt, tandem de monasterio sancte Marie yconiam eius, quam Lucas ipso adhuc vivente depinxit, accipientes, processionaliter illam deducunt, orantes, ut, que tociens in periculis juerat, nunc etiam ferret opem. Posita igitur yconia super undas, statim procela surexit, et omnes naves Saracenorum aut

- mergit aut fregit; dicta est autem yconia *Diguria*, idest deductrix, quia duobus cecis aparuit et ad ecclesiam deduxit, ibique eos illuminavit." From Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per Extensum Descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, II.1, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores: Raccolta degli storici italiani*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1938), XII, 109.
135. My conclusion differs from Barber's position; Barber, *Figure and Likeness*, II–37. See my review of his work in the CAA reviews at www.collegeart.org.
136. Brubaker, "Icons Before Iconoclasm?" For relics in the later periods, see *Christian Relics in the Moscow Kremlin*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Raduniža, 2000).
137. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II.0**–13**; Kessler, "Il Mandylin," in *Il volto di Cristo*, 91. The *acheropita* in Rome presents an exception to the rule. The image was carried in the annual procession for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, as recorded in ninth-century sources. Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 38, 74ff., 314–15.
138. P. Halsall, tr., "Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1996), 291–322, esp. 311, and E. von Dobschütz, ed., "Maria Romeia: Zwei unbekannte Texte," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903): 173–214, esp. 202.
139. Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 51. The Friday procession was established very early on, but it incorporated images only after Iconoclasm. The earliest evidence for icons in the Friday procession is offered by the typikon of the Pantokrator monastery in the first half of the twelfth century; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 753–54. See Chapter 6.
140. B. Pentcheva, "Images and Icons of the Virgin and Their Public in Middle Byzantine Constantinople" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2001), 131–63. For the sources, see *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 311; Dobschütz, "Maria Romeia," 202; and Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," 127.
- sects. 14–15, 17, 33–39, 51, 52, pp. 79–82, 87–90, 95–96.
2. With the exception of the spring, nothing has survived from this Byzantine foundation.
3. M. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts* (Wiener byzantinische Studien, 24/1) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 92; *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk. I, poems 120–21.
4. *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk. I, poem 120.
5. Chapter 6 explores this ceremony.
6. A. Papalexandrou, "Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder," *Word & Image* 17/3 (2001): 259–83.
7. *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk. I, poem 121.
8. George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 182–83, vv. 141–54; see my subsequent translation and discussion of this passage in this chapter.
9. Combefis, *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum*, 751–88; Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople"; Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis," 20; and Carr, "Threads of Authority."
10. Photios, homily 4, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 40–52; English tr. in *The Homilies of Photius*, 102–3.
11. Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 219 (Emperor Romanos Lekapenos, sect. 12).
12. Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, VII.3.9, in *Anne Comnene Alexias*, ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (CFHB, 40) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), I, 212; English tr. in *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 225. Carr, "Court Culture and Cult Icons," 93.
13. Carr, "Threads of Authority." The *maphorion* has a more explicit liturgical character, for it also denotes the *pallium* worn by bishops and the patriarch; see PGL under μαφόριον and ὁμοφόριον.
14. Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.10–11, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 84; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 69–70 (on Romanos III Argyros); Attaleiates, *Historia*, Bonn ed., 152–53 (on Romanos IV Diogenes).
15. Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.10–11, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 84; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 69–70; Attaleiates, *Historia*, Bonn ed., 153.

Chapter 3

1. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk,

16. A similar paradox of the Virgin's winning in battle without spear and blood, but through her virginal motherhood and her tears, is revealed in George of Pisidia's poem on the Avar siege; George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 182–83, vv. 130–60.
17. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome"; Mellor, "The Goddess Roma."
18. Speaking about the Pheidian statue of Athena *parthenos*, Jennifer Neils remarks: "But virginity may be the one intangible attribute that could only be conveyed though its result—victory—so the Pheidian Athena holds Nike in her hand." From *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, ed. J. Neils (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 135. See also C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias: A Study in the Religion of Periclean Athens* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955), II–12.
19. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier: F. Lintz, 1895; rpt. New York, 1975), 29–33; J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire: La politique religieuse des Antonins (96–192)* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1955), 217, 373; B. Gassowska, "Maternus Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio Orientis, and the Destruction of the Allat-Athena Temple in Palmyra," *Archeologia* 33 (1982): 107–23. The temple was built ca. A.D. 130–31 and destroyed in the mid-380s.
20. For Athena's epithets, see K. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum Quae apud Poetas Graecos Leguntur*, in *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), Supplementa, vol. III.
21. The Amazons had a lasting presence throughout the Middle Ages due to their role in the popular *Alexander Romance*, written in the third century and ascribed to Pseudo-Kallistenes. The description of the Amazons reads: "[We.] the virgins who dwell in it [our country], number 270,000 and we are armed. There is no male creature in our land." From *The Greek Alexander Romance*, tr. R. Stoneman (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 143.
22. Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliothèque*, ed. C. H. Oldfather (LCL) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933–67), III.53–54, III.71. See also J. H. Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth* (Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 71, 157, 259, 314.
23. The *palladion* refers to miraculous guardian statue of Athena, an *acheiropoietos*, originally kept in Troy. After the Trojan War, the *palladion* was eventually brought to Rome to protect the city. OCD, 1100–101.
24. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, II.42, XXII.57, frag. 8, ed. B. O. Foster, *Livy* (LCL) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), I, 359; V, 385; XIV, 243.
25. Mellor, "The Goddess Roma."
26. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, sects. XIII, p. 79 (v. 28); XIV, p. 80 (v. 14); XVI, p. 80 (v. 20); XIX, p. 82 (v. 9); XXV, p. 84 (vv. 38–39); XXXII, p. 87 (v. 13); XXXIII, pp. 87 (v. 21) and 88 (vv. 12 and 29); XXXVI, p. 89 (v. 10); XXXIX, p. 90 (v. 2); I, p. 95 (v. 19); LI, pp. 95 (vv. 35 and 38) and 96 (v. 1).
27. τούτους χερσὶ στρατιωτικῶν Χριστιανῶν κατασφάξα-
σα εἰς τὴν γῆν κατήγαγεν τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ φρύγμα
καὶ ἔσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐξελεύρισε. . . .
δέδωκε δὲ θάρσος τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ δύναμιν πείρα
μαθοῦσι τε καὶ πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι ὄντως ἡ Θεομήτωρ
ὑπὲρ πόλεως τῆς ἰδίας ζηλοῖ τε καὶ ἀγωνίζεται·
ἐξῆς γὰρ λοιπὸν διὰ πάσης ἡμέρας συμπλοκαὶ
κατὰ τόπον διάφοροι καὶ βελῶν ἀφέσεις καὶ
βολαὶ χερμάδων δι' ὅλου τοῦ τείχους ἐγίνοντο·
καὶ πανταχοῦ παρὴν ἡ παρθένος, νικῶσα νίκην
ἀνανταγώνιστον, καὶ δεῖμα καὶ φόβον τοῖς πολεμίοις
ἐμβάλλουσα, ἰσχὺν δὲ δούλοις παρέχουσα καὶ ἀπαθὲς
φυλάττουσα τὸ ὑπήκοον, ἀναιροῦσα δὲ πλῆθος
πολέμιον. From *ibid.*, sect. XIX, p. 82.
28. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ γεγόμενον πόλεμον
αὐτανδρὰ τὰ μονόξυλα πρὸ τοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις
θείου ναοῦ αὐτῆς ἡ Θεοτόκος ἐβύθισεν, ὥς πάντα
τὸν κόλπον ἐκείνον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ
τῶν κενῶν μονοξύλων τῶν εἰκῇ φερομένων καὶ τῶν
μάτην περιπλεόντων, εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀβρόχως
πεζεῦσθαι, δέδεικται δὲ φανερώτατα, ὥς ἡ παρθένος
μόνη τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἠγωνίσται καὶ τὴν νίκην
νενίκηκεν. From *ibid.*, sect. XXXIII, p. 87.
29. See Dennis, "Religious Services in the Byzantine Army," 114.

30. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἄθεος Χαγάνος τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου ὅτι ἐγὼ θεωρῶ γυναῖκα σεμνοφοροῦσαν περιτρέχουσαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος μόνην οὖσαν. From *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 725.
31. Zosimos, *New History*, tr. R. T. Ridley (Byzantine Australiensia, 2) (Sidney: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 101. "Ἄξιον δε μὴδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις περιεσώθη, θεοπρεπὴ τινα οὖσαν καὶ εἰς εὐσέβειαν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπικαλουμένην, σιωπῇ διελθεῖν ἐπιὼν Ἀλάριχος πανστρατιᾷ τῇ πόλει τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἑώρα περινοστοῦσαν τὴν πρόμαχον Ἀθηνᾶν, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλλμασιν, ὥπλισμένην καὶ οἶον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἀνθίστασθαι μέλλουσαν. From Zosimos, *Historia nova*, ed. F. Paschoud, *Histoire nouvelle* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1971–86), bk. V.6.
32. Le Corsu, *Isis, mythe et mystères*, 279ff.; Tran, *Isis Lactans*; Langener, *Isis lactans—Maria lactans*; Benko, *The Virgin Goddess*; F. Borgeaud, *La mère des dieux: De Cybèle à la Vierge Marie* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1996).
33. Theodore Synkellos, *De obsidione Constantinopolitana*, in *Traduction et commentaire*, ed. Makk, sect. II, p. 74.
34. Τῶν ζωγράφων τις εἰ θέλει τὰ τῆς μάχης τρόπαια δεῖξαι, τὴν Τεκοῦσαν ἀσπύρωσ μόνην προτάξει καὶ γράφοι τὴν εἰκόνα· αἶε γὰρ οἶδε τὴν φύσιν νικᾶν μόνη, τόκῳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μάχῃ τὸ δεύτερον· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν, ὥσπερ ἀσπύρωσ τότε, οὕτως ἀόπλως νῦν τεκεῖν σωτηρίαν, ὅπως δι' ἀμφοῖν εὐρεθῇ καὶ παρθένος καὶ πρὸς μάχην ἄτρεπτος ὡς πρὸς τὸν τόκον
From George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 176, vv. 1–9
35. ὦ πάντα πράττων ὥστε μὴ στεῖράν ποτε ψυχὴν παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ <καὶ> σπείρων αἶε καὶ τεκνοποιῶν τῷ Θεῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ παρθενεύων καὶ πλέον μῆτηρ μένων - μάλιστα γὰρ νῦν πάντας ὠδίνεις μόνος καὶ πᾶσά σοι γῆ σπαργανοῦται καὶ Πόλις, ταύτης δι' ὑμῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ σεσωσμένης -, χαῖρε, στρατηγὲ πρακτικῆς ἀγρυπνίας· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐστώς ἐξ ἐτοίμου καρδίας μηδὲν λαλῶν ἔφραξες, ἡ δὲ σὴ στάσις πτώσις κατ' ἐχθρῶν εὐθέως ἐγένετο. Χαῖρε, στρατηγὲ τῶν ἐνόπλων δακρύων τῶν πυρπολούντων τὸ θράσος τὸ βάρβαρον·

ὅσον γὰρ ἀπλοῖς τὰς ῥοὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων τοσοῦτον εἵργεις τὰς ῥοὰς τῶν αἱμάτων· ὁρῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀκανθώδεις ῥύπους ἐκ τῆς ἀκάρπου τῶν κακῶν κακουργίας πρὸς καθῖσιν ᾗδῃ καὶ φθορᾷ ἡπειργμένους, φθάνεις τὸ πῦρ μὲν ὡς πρὸς ὕλην ἡμμένον πρὸς δ' αὖ τὰ δένδρα τὴν τομὴν τεθειμένην, πηγὰς δὲ τῶν σῶν ἐξανοίξας ὀμμάτων ἄρδεις τὰ χέρσα καὶ δροσίξεις τὴν φλόγα, καὶ τὰς ἀκάρπους καρδίας μετειργάσω καρποὺς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ ἐπομβρίας ξένης.

From *ibid.*, 182–83, vv. 130–60

36. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 17–39; Wellesz, "The Akathistos"; Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, 89–97; Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*.
37. Akathistos, *prooimion* II, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 2–3.
38. Akathistos, stanza xv, v. 13, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 12–13.
39. Akathistos, stanza XIX, vv. 1–2, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 14–15.
40. *Le Typikon de la Grand Église*, ed. J. Mateos (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, vols. 165, 166) (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962–63), 50–55; Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 50–54.
41. The hymn was sung during imperial triumphal ceremonies in the tenth century; *De Ceremoniis*, II.19, Bonn ed., 609.
42. *Akolouthia II*, ed. A. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare inedita del x secolo," *Aevum* 22–23 (1948–49): 145–68; *Akolouthia I*, ed. T. Détorakis and J. Mossay, "Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le cod. sin. gr. 734–735," *Le Muséon* 101/1–2 (1988): 183–211; *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum*, ed. J. Goar (Venice: Bartholomeus Javarina, 1730; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck Universitäts Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 642–44.
43. Θεὸν ὃν ἐσωμάτωσαν, παρθένε θεονύμφευτε, ἐκδυσώπει τοῦ λυτρώσασθαι ἡμᾶς βαρβάρων ἐπιθρείας καὶ πάσης ἄλλης βλάβης, ἵνα σε δοξάζωμεν, vv. 35–40; "Ἔργον σῆς ἰσχύος, πάναγνε, τὸ καταβαλεῖν [καὶ] τείχη καὶ πόλεις καὶ φρύαγμα, Θεοτόκε, τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς λαοῦ σου περιποίησιν, vv. 132–35; "Ἐν κινδύνους ἔχοντες βοήθειαν τὴν σὴν προστασίαν, μῆτερ Θεοῦ, κὰν πολέμοις εὖροιμεν ὑπερμαχοῦσάν σε ἐν

θαλάσῃ σφύζουσιν καὶ ἐν γῇ διαφυλάττουσαν, vv. 202–7; "Ὁ στρατὸς ὁ χριστόνυμος, δέσποινα, στρατηγόν σε πλουτῶν ὡς ὑπέρμαχον ἐν πολέμοις, ἄχραντε, vv. 302–4. From *Akolouthia II*, ed. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare," 156, 160, 163, 166.

44. Νικητὰς ἀνάδειξον ἡμᾶς, μεγάλυνον τοὺς αἶε σε μεγαλύνοντας, κράτυνον σκῆπτρα βασιλέων τῶν πόθῳ σεβομένων τὸν τόκον σου, καὶ τούτων τὸν στρατὸν κατακόσμησον νίκης στεφάνοις, μῆτερ Παρθένε, vv. 301–6. From *ibid.*, 167.
45. *The Greek Anthology* (LCL), I, bk I, poem 120, on the Blachernai. For the Pharos, see Photios, homily 10, sect. 6, in *Homiliai*, ed. Laourdas, 102; English tr. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius*, 188.
46. Akathistos, stanza XXIII, vv. 10–15, in Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, 18–19.
47. "Ἀνανδρος ἐφάνης· μῆτερ ἀγνή, μήτηρ ἐν παρθένοις καθωράθης ὑπερφυῶς· θεὸν γὰρ ἀσπύρωσ συλλαμβάνεις καὶ τίκεις, ἐν σοὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενον, vv. 322–28. From *Akolouthia I*, ed. Détorakis and Mossay, "Un office byzantin inédit," 206–7. In addition, all the *theotokia* of this service refer to the *parthenometer*.
48. *Euchologion to mega*, ed. N. Papadopoulos (Athens: Michael I. Saliveros, 1927), 426–30. No analysis is provided in the only publication that mentions the service: P. de Meester, *Liturgia bizantina* (Rome: Topografia Leonina, 1930), bk. II, pt. VI, pp. 324–28. Because a similar military prayer for the fleet may be found in the early-eleventh-century *Euchologion* edited by Arranz, Robert Taft has suggested to me in a recent communication that this sort of rogational service most likely developed in the early centuries of the second millennium. *L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, ed. M. Arranz (Rome: Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 1996), 354. In order to establish a firm date for the *parakletikos kanon* of the Virgin, it will be necessary to study the manuscripts that transmit the service. So far, no such research has been carried out.
49. τὸν κραταιὸν ἐν ἰσχυῖ, καὶ δυνατὸν ἐν πολέμοις Κύριον, ἡ γεννήσασα σεμνὴ, κραταιὰ χειρὶ σοῦ παναλκεῖ συμπολέμησον ἐχθροὺς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας ἡμᾶς. [. . .] Σενναχερίμ ὥσπερ ἄλλην πανστρατιὰν ἄρδην, ἐξαφάνησον καὶ τὴν νῦν πανστρατιὰν τὴν περικυκλώσασαν ἡμᾶς, τῶν βαρβάρων κραταιᾷ

- χειρὶ σου, Δέσποινα. Σὲ τοῖς ἡμᾶς πολεμοῦσι πικροῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντικοθοπλίζομεν, καὶ κινούμεν κατ' αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀντιπαράταξιν ἀγνή· σὺ γὰρ εἴ Χριστιανῶν ὁ Ἀρχιστρατηγός. From *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 642.
50. νικᾶται τάξις φύσεως Δέσποινα, ὅπου Θεὸς ὁ πάντα δρῶν τῷ νεύματι βοῦλεται. Σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν γεννήσασα δύνασαι ὅσα θέλεις· ὅθεν τοὺς θέλοντας, ταύτην σου τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι, ἄρδην ἀφάνισον. From *ibid.*, 644.
51. Isa. 7:14 and Matt. 1:23.
52. George of Pisidia, in his poem on the Avar siege, expresses a similar perception of the Virgin's invincible power in battle. See George of Pisidia, *Bellum Avaricum*, in *Poemi*, ed. Pertusi, 176–77.
53. καὶ τις ἀνὴρ ὦπτο παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐφ' ἵππου λευκοῦ προαγωνιζόμενος καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων κλονῶν καὶ διαταράσσων φάλαγγας, μηδενὶ πρότερον ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενος γνώριμος, ὃν ἔφασκον εἶναι ἕνα τῶν καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Θεοδώρων. τούτοις δὲ προμάχοις αἶε καὶ προβόλοις κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχρήτο ὁ βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ συνέτυχε τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' αὐτὴν συνενεχθῆναι τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν εἰώθαμεν ἑορτάζειν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ στρατηλάτου· καὶ γυνὴ δέ τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σεμνὴ ὑπερτάτης δυνάμεως εἶναι τὸ φᾶσμα ἐπιστοῦτο, μιᾷ πρότερον τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἡμέρᾳ ὄναρ θεασαμένη, καὶ δόξασα τῇ θεοτόκῳ παρίστασθαι καὶ λεγοῦσης ἀκοῦσαι πρὸς τινα στρατιώτην· ἵκθρι Θεόδωρε, ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ σὸς Ἰωάννης περιστάσει ἐνέχεται, καὶ σπεύδον εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν. From Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 308–9. The same story appears first in Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, IX.9, Bonn ed., 153–54. On the importance of *oneirokritika*, books of dream interpretations carried by the emperor on his military expeditions, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, ed. Haldon, 107; M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (The Medieval Mediterranean, 36) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), 424–29; and eadem, "The So-Called Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Byzantine Book of Dream Interpretation and Its Arabic Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 80, 523–27.
54. See my discussion of Tzimiskes in Chapter 1.

55. C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); B. Schrader, "Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians: The Cult of Saints in Svaneti," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. A. Eastmond (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 9) (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2001), 169–98, esp. 171–77; P. Schreiner, "Aspekte der politischen Heiligenverehrung in Byzanz," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. J. Petersohn (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 42) (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994), 365–83; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 159–78; L. Mariès, "L'irruption des saints dans l'illustration du psautier byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 153–62.
56. See my discussion in Chapter 2 and Carr, "The Mother of God in Public," 332.
57. καθ' ἣν δὲ ἡμέραν τῶν ἐπισφαλῶν ἐκείνων ἐπέβαινε τρίβων, ἀνὴρ τις προσελθὼν αὐτῷ δίγλωττος, τὸ γένος Ῥωμαῖος, τοῦπικλὴν Μανρόπουλος, δόξα οἱ ἔφατο κατ' ὄναρ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου παρώνυμον ναὸν εἰσελθεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰλεοῦσθαι οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος φωνὴν ἐξικνουμένην ἐκείθεν ἐνωτισθῆναι λέγουσαν ὡς, "Ἀρτίως ἐν μεγίστοις, μάλιστα κινδύνους ὁ βασιλεὺς," καὶ "τίς ἀπελεύσεται μοι τούτῳ συνέριθος;" εἰρηκότος δὲ τινος ἀοράτως "ἀπελθετω Γεώργιος;" "νωθὴς αὐτός" εἰπεῖν, κάκεινον δὲ πάλιν ἐπενεγκόντος "ἀπίτω Θεόδωρος" καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπανήνασθαι καὶ τέλος δὲ μετὰ περιαλγείας φθέγγασθαι ὡς οὐδεὶς προφθάσει τὸ φνόμενον ἐκείνῳ κακόν. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. van Dieten (CFHB, II) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), I, 190; English tr. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 107–8. Mavroudi, in an oral communication, has suggested that Mavropoulos, as a bilingual, might have expressed the interests of the enemies. His inauspicious dream could have been intended to undermine the morale of the emperor and his soldiers. Mavroudi also sees further significance in the fact that the man dreamed of an icon of the Virgin, rather than the personal appearance of Mary. According to the so-called

oneirokritikon of Ahmet, an icon is less auspicious than the personal appearance of a saint. *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams*, tr. S. M. Oberhelman (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1991), 152–53, and Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*, 269–85.

58. J. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses* (Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection Publications, 10) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994). Crosses functioned in a variety of contexts ranging from military and civic to private.
59. The call for battle was "The cross has become victorious!" Theophanes Continuatus, v.42, Bonn ed.; 274, v. 3; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., II, 211, v. 11. The cross is also called "victory bringer," νικοποιός (Theophanes Continuatus, v.89, Bonn ed., 334, v. 9, and George Harmatolos, PG 110, col. 588) or "the most victorious symbol," νικητικώτατον σύμβολον (Continuatus of Skylitzes in E. T. Solakes, 'Η συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση' Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν," *Idryma meleton chersonesou tou Aimou* 105 (1968): 103–86, esp. 148, v. 8).
60. F. Winkelmann, "Das hagiographische Bild Konstantins I. in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert: Akten des Colloquiums Byzanz auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Macht, Liblice, 20.–23. Sept. 1977*, ed. V. Vavřínek (Prague: ČSAV, Kabinet pro studia řecká, římská a latinská, 1978), 179–203. Kazhdan argues for a somewhat later date, ca. 800; see Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire."
61. The association of Constantine's victory with the cross is already present in Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. I, pt. I, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 30. Malalas offers the first complete record of the myth; Malalas, *Chronographia*, LXIII, ed. Thurn, 243.
62. L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Images as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 163–72.
63. H. Klein, "Niketas und das Wahre Kreuz: Kritische Anmerkungen zur Überlieferung des Chroni-

con Paschale ad annum 614," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94/2 (2001): 580–87.

64. N. Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'Empire byzantine du VII^e siècle au X^e dans ses rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle: Nouveaux témoignages archéologiques," *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1981): 205–28; J.-C. Cheynet, "Quelques remarques sur le culte de la croix en Asie mineure au X^e siècle," in *Histoire et culture chrétienne: Hommage à Monseigneur Yves Marchasson*, ed. Y. Ledure (Cultures et christianisme, 1) (Paris: Beauchesne, 1992), 67–78; Gagé, "Σταυρὸς νικοποιός: La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien." See also Barber, *Figure and Likeness*, 88–92, on the eighth-century intensification of the imperial victory ideology associated with the cult of the cross.
65. Βασιλικὸς σταυρὸς: George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903; rpt. Stuttgart, 1978, with corr. P. Wirth), I, 19–20; Constantine VI Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, ed. Haldon, text C, p. 125, v. 489; *De Ceremoniis*, Bonn ed., I, 485; and George Harmatolos, PG 110, col. 588.
66. Στρατηγικὸς σταυρὸς: Typikon of Theotokos Petriziotissa, ed. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *Revue des études byzantines* 42 (1984): 5–146, esp. 121; Theophanes Continuatus, VI.10, Bonn ed., 388–89. The same episode is also in Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., II, 363, v. 14, and Zonaras, *Epitome historion*, XVI.25, v. 9, ed. L. Dindorf, *Epitome historiarum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1868–75), III, 503, v. 6. Σταυρὸς, σταυρικὸς τύπος: Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, I.3, IV.5, VIII.1, Bonn ed., 8, v. 6; 61; 128, v. 2.
67. Some texts mention the carrying of pectoral crosses on the battlefield; see Theophanes Continuatus, IV.15, Bonn ed., 164, v. 19. In addition, many pectoral crosses have been found in the excavations of fortresses. The evidence suggests that soldiers wore these objects. I wish to thank Brigitte Pitarakis for bringing this last piece of evidence to my attention. For the tradition of depicting images on pectoral crosses, see Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, 94–125, esp. 119–21.

68. Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., II, 211.
69. Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνῳ τῷ πρώτῳ χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖ σταυρὸν τὸν θεῖον δεῖξας οὐρανόθεν τε φήσας: 'Θαρρῶν ἐν τούτῳ νίκα, ' σὺ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σταυροῦ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ νῦν νίκην καὶ ῥώμην καὶ θείαν ὄντως ἰσχὺν τῷ στρατῷ σου δὸς ὡς εὖσπλαγχνος. [. . .] σῶσον, κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, νίκας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ βαρβάρων δωροῦμενος καὶ τὸ σὸν φυλάττων διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου πολίτευμα. From A. Heisenberg, "Kriegsgottesdienst in Byzanz," in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients: Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. Februar 1916 gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern, München 1916* (Breslau: Verlag von M. & H. Marcus, 1916), 244–57, esp. 253. Similar evocation of the cross as a sign of victory before battle occurs in a tenth-century liturgical service; *Akolouthia II*, ed. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare," 155, 157.
70. A. Grabar, "La précieuse croix de la Lavra Saint-Athanase au Mont-Athos," *Cahiers archéologiques* 19 (1969): 99–125. See also Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses*, 11–14; Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De thematibus*, ed. Haldon, 144–45.
71. "[. . .] and with the weapon of the cross strike down our enemies" (καὶ τῷ ὅπλῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ κατὰβαλε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν), from *Akolouthia II*, ed. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare," 155.
72. Ps. 42 (43):6 is inscribed on the back side of the cross: "In thee we will gore our enemies, and in thy name will we bring to naught those who rise against us" (ἐν σοὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν κεραταιοῦμεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐξουθενώσομεν τοὺς ἐπανιστανομένους ἡμῖν). An ivory plaque of the Crucifixion at the Metropolitan Museum of Art presents another manifestation of the perception of the cross as weapon. As it rises upward, the cross pierces the entrails of Hades. The inscription next to the image announces: "The Cross [is] implanted in the stomach of Hades"; *Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 97, 151–52.
73. G. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo: Issledovanie po istorii gruzinskogo srednevekovnogo iskusstva*, 2 vols. (Tbilisi: Sabčota Sakartvlo, 1959); Schrader, "Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians." For the tenth century, Čubinašvili gives

two examples: Zaiši, figs. 5, 6, 7; Brili, fig. 85. For the eleventh century, four examples: Žurmi, figs. 307, 306; Lahil, figs. 315, 316, 325; Gelati, figs. 372, 374; Šemokmedi, fig. 396. For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, two examples: Žibiani, fig. 462; Lančvan, fig. 470. There is no secure evidence linking the extant crosses with battles. Yet a cross could have been used in both civil and military contexts. Half of the processional crosses published by Čubinašvili are covered with representations of warrior saints, which could suggest a military function. From a total of 47 crosses from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, 24 are with military saints, 14 with no military figures, and 9 with the “hodegtria” image type.

74. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, I, 510–12; II, figs. 315, 316, 319, 321, and 323–26. Its size is 90.5 × 51 cm. Saint Barbara and Saint Kvirike (Quiricus) are presented respectively at the bottom of the obverse and reverse sides. Since Saint Barbara is the protector of the army, her presence might suggest that the cross was in fact carried in battle. Of course, the selection of Saints Barbara and Kvirike can also mean that the church where the cross was deposited was dedicated to these saints. See also Schrade, “Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians,” 177–81.
75. The size of the cross is 36.5 × 16.2 cm. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, I, 162–69; II, fig. 85. See also *The Treasures of Georgia*, ed. V. Beridze et al. (London: Century Publications, 1984), 189 (color). David, the Curopalates of Tao (966 to 1001) is mentioned in the inscription. He fought for the consolidation of the Georgian state against the Muslims and Byzantium. His conquests from the Arabs were recognized by Byzantium only as lands that had to return to empire after David’s death. Most of David’s activity was on the battlefield, securing territories of the Georgian state. For the history of the period, see K. Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation* (Paris: N. Salia, 1983), 134–46.
76. While there are very few Byzantine objects, many examples have survived from Georgia.
77. *Akolouthia I*, ed. Détorakis and Mossay, “Un office byzantin inédit.” This is the only published service of its kind. It comes from a period when

the emperor Nikephoros Phokas tried to promote the concept that the ones who die in battle become martyrs for Christ. His attempt failed, so it would be interesting to see how the service changed in the later period, especially how it explained and justified the idea of soldiers’ death in war. For holy war in Byzantium, see A. Laiou, “On Just War in Byzantium,” in *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. A. Kyprianides (New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. Caratzas, 1993), I, 153–74; N. Oikonomides, “The Concept of ‘Holy War’ and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivories,” in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of G. T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), 62–86; and, most recently, G. Dennis, “Defenders of the Christian People: Holy War in Byzantium,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. Laiou et al. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 31–39.

78. I discuss this idea in depth later on.
79. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, I, 390–92; II, figs. 428, 429. For the inscription, see D. Bakradze, *Arkheologičeskoe putešestvie po Gurii i Adčarie* (St. Petersburg: Akademij nauk, 1878), 102–3.
80. I. Dujičev, *Miniatjurite na Manasievata letopis* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski hudožnik, 1962), fig. 43. The metal finial is attached to flags of the type discussed by G. Dennis, “Byzantine Battle Flags,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 3 (1982): 51–59.
81. Psellos, *Chronographia*, I.16, in *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 26; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 36; and see the modern problematic interpretation of this passage in Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos’ Chronographia*, 62–66. See also my discussion in Chapter 2.
82. Pitarakis and Morrisson, “Miliarèsion anonyme avec la Vierge Nikopoios.”
83. ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐμφανίζεται, ἣν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ὡς περ τινὰ στρατηγὸν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου φύλακα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συνήθως ἐπάγονται. From Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.10–11, in *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 84; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Emperors*, tr. Sewter, 69.

84. Grierson, DOC III/2, 712, 719, nos. 3.a.1–3.a.4, pl. 57. The inscription reads: “He who places hope in you, oh Virgin much praised, will prosper in all he does” (παρθένε σοι πολυαῖνε ὅς ἡλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ). The military connotations of the address *parthenos* could suggest a war function.
85. The passage refers to the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes. τὴν πάνσεπτον εἰκόνα τῆς πανυμνήτου δεσποίνης θεοτόκου τῆς Βλαχερνιτίσσης, ἥτις εἰώθει τοῖς πιστοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐν ἐκστρατείαις ὡς ἀπροσμάχητον ὄπλον συνεκστρατεύεσθαι. From Attaleiates, *Historia*, Bonn ed., 153. Discussed by Carr in “Court Culture and Cult Icons,” 93.
86. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Dieten, I, 15, v. 20; English tr. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, 10 (John II Komnenos, sect. xv).
87. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Dieten, I, 18–19 (John II Komnenos’s triumph in 1133), 157–58 (Manuel Komnenos’s triumph of 1167); English tr. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, 12 (John II Komnenos, sect. xix), 90 (Manuel Komnenos, sect. clviii). For the triumph of 1133, see also John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke (CSHB, 26) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1836), 13–14, and Theodore Prodromos, *Carmina*, in *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Wiener byzantinische Studien, 11) (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), poems iv, v, vi, pp. 199–228. For the procession of 1167, see also Kinnamos, *Epitome*, Bonn ed., 249.
88. Grierson, DOC, III/1, 171–74, and III/2, 731–32, 747, nos. 8a.1–8a.3, pl. 59 (Constantine IX); 753, no. 3, pl. 62 (Theodora); and 758, no. 3, pl. 62 (Michael VI).
89. The inscription to the right of the Virgin has been read as *Blachernitissa*. See H. Vogeler, *Das Goldemil-Reliquiar mit der Darstellung der Hagiosoritissa im Schatz der Liebfrauenkirche zu Maastricht* (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1984); *Glory of Byzantium*, 165–66, n. 113.
90. G. Sotiriou and M. Sotiriou, *Eikones tes mones Sina* (Collection de l’Institut français d’Athènes, 100) (Athens: Institut français d’Athènes, 1956–58), 125–28, figs. 146–49; A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du Moyen Âge* (Bibliothèque de l’Institut hellénique d’études

- byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise, 7) (Venice: Institut hellénique d’études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1975), n. 9, fig. 18.
91. Zacos II, no. 522; see also the discussion of this image in Chapter 5.
92. Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 384. This is a novel image type; see the discussion of its origins and meaning in Chapter 5.
93. Without offering any further evidence, Kondakov also argued the *deomene* Theotokos was depicted in the apse of the Blachernai; Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 55–123, esp. 57. Belting-Ihm, “*Sub matris tutela*,” 49–50; eadem, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, 4) (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 63.
94. See my discussion in Chapter 1.
95. V. N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics: From the 11th to the 16th Century* (London: Phaidon, 1966); Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 72ff.
96. Ps. 45:6, ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, οὐ σαλευθήσεται βοηθήσει αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πρὸς πρωί.
97. D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Mone on Chios*, 2 vols. (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1985), and H. Maguire, “The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 205–14.
98. A similar claim may be found in S. Y. Ötügen, “Konstantin IX. — ‘Soliman,’ ‘Einzelkämpfer,’ ‘Siegesbringer’ — und die ‘unbesiegbare’ Theotokos,” in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400–1453, 33) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 175–85.
99. Grierson, DOC III/2, nos. 8a.1–8a.3, pl. 59 (Constantine IX).
100. Grierson, DOC III/2, 753, no. 3, pl. 62 (Theodora); and 758, no. 3, pl. 62 (Michael VI).
101. Grabar referred to the terms deriving from hymnography as qualitative or poetic epithets; Grabar, “Remarques sur l’iconographie byzantine de la Vierge.”
102. Lihačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie italo-grečeskoj ikonopisi*; Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*. By adding the new category of qualitative epi-

- thets, Grabar improved the theory of Kondakov and Lihačev; Grabar, "L'Hodigitria et l'Eléousa," 10; idem, "Les images de la Vierge de tendresse"; idem, "Remarques sur l'iconographie byzantine de la Vierge." See also G. Babić, "Les images byzantines et leurs degrés de signification: L'exemple de l'Hodigitria," in *Byzance et les images: Cycle de conférences organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel au 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992*, ed. J. Durand (Paris: Documentation française, 1994), 189-222; eadem, "Il modello e la replica nell'arte bizantina delle icone," *Arte cristiana* 76 (1988): 61-78; eadem, "Epititi Bogorodiže koju dete gri," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 21 (1985): 261-75; M. Tatić-Djurić, "L'icône de l'Odigitria et son culte au XVe siècle," in *Byzantine East, Latin West*, 557-64. A strict classification of Marian images in four iconographic types is used in sigillographic studies; see W. Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios: Zur Ikonographie der Gottesmutter-Ikone, die 1030/31 in der Blacherne Kirche wiederaufgefunden wurde," *Byzantinica* 13 (1985): 549-64; idem, "Die Darstellung der Theotokos"; H. Hunger, "Zur Terminologie der Theotokosdarstellungen auf byzantinischen Siegeln," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 60 (1994): 131-42; idem, "Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft über Welt und Menschheit 'Μητήρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἐπισκεψίς,'" *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 4 (1994): 33-42. In an attempt to classify a vast number of seals with Marian images in four types, this simplified approach of Seibt and Hunger fails to recognize both the famous icons signified by toponymic names and the desires projected onto the images as expressed in the poetic or qualitative names.
103. Laurent, *Église*, nos. 749, 806; Zacos I, no. 2737. A miracle-working icon was kept in that church, as recorded in the *Vita* of Theophano, the wife of Leo VI; E. Kurtz, ed., "Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.," *Zapiski imperatorskoi akademii nauk: Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, ser. VIII, vol. 3, no. 2, (St. Petersburg: A. I. Snegirevoi, 1898), 2, 29, and Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. 1, vol. III, 66-67.
104. M. Tatić-Djurić, "Eléousa: À la recherche du type iconographique," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976): 259-67.
105. ἔχεις ἐν μάχαις ἄμαχον σύμμαχον τὸν σωτήρα τὸν πλάσαντα καὶ στέψαντα καὶ βασιλεύσαντά σε, ἔχεις τὴν νικοποιδὸν συστράτηγον κρατίστην. Theodore Prodromos, *Carmina*, in *Historische Gedichte*, ed. Hörandner, poem XVI, vv. 214-16, p. 284.
106. τὴν ἀληθὴ νικοποιδὸν ὑπέραγνον παρθένον. Ibid., poem XIX, v. 88, p. 313.
107. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 124-51; Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios"; and M. Schulz, "Die Nicopea in San Marco zur Geschichte und zum Typ einer Ikone," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91/2 (1998): 473-510.
108. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 124-51.
109. Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 384. See my further discussion of this excerpt in Chapter 5.
110. καθαιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ χρίσματος εὐρέθη εἰκὼν ὑλογραφικὴ, σανίδιον ἐπιστήθιον κρατούσης τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν κύριον καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν. From ibid. See my further discussion of this excerpt in Chapter 5.
111. Zacos I, no. 2678a; Lihačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie italo-grečeskoj ikonopisi*, pl. VI, no. 25. The seal belonged to the *proedros* John and is dated to the second half of the eleventh century.
112. Laurent, *Adm. centr.*, no. 900. The seal belonged to a Niketas, again a *proedros*. For the "hodegetria," see my discussion in Chapter 4.
113. Schulz, "Die Nicopea in San Marco."
114. Speaking of Emperor Alexios V, Villehardouin writes: "pardi son gonfalon imperial, et une ancone qu'il faisoit porter devant lui, où il se fioit mult il et li autre Gré (en celle ancone ere Nostre Dame formé)." From *Geoffroi de Villehardouin: Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. M. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1882), sect. 228, p. 132. A. Rizzi, "Un'icona costantinopolitana del XII secolo à Venezia: La Madonna Nicopeia," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980): 290-306.
115. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen (CSHB, 6) (Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1829), I, 304; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpaux (Le monde byzantin, 1) (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1966), 227, 228.
116. Epigrams, ed. S. Lampros, "Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524," 7, poem 10.
117. *Conversation with God: Icons from the Byzantine Museum of Athens, 9th to 15th centuries: The Hellenic Center*, London, 22 May-20 June, 1998, ed.

- C. Baltoyanni (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 1998), 91-95, no. 13.
118. I return to the meaning of this iconography at the end of this chapter. Similarly, I pursue the theme of toponymic and qualitative names of icons through the examples of the Hodegetria, *Episkepsis*, and *Eleousa* images in the remaining chapters of this book.
119. Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.10, in *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 84.
120. Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Dieten, I, 19.
121. Ibid., I, 158.
122. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1934), II, no. 31, p. 33.
123. Tr. Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War,'" 73.
"Ἀναξ ὁ τεύξας μαρτύρων τὴν τετράδα τοῦτοις τροποῦται δυσμενεῖς κατὰ κράτος. The inscription is placed on the left wing.
124. Tr. Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War,'" 73-75.
"Ὡς ἡπόρει χεῖρ καὶ γλυφίς Χριστοῦ τύπω Χριστὸς διδάσκων καὶ πνοὴν ἦν εἰσφέρων· καὶ συλλαλεῖ γὰρ μητρὶ καὶ τῷ Προδρόμῳ καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς ὥσπερ ἐκπέμπων λέγει· Κωνσταντῖνον λυτροῦσθε παντοίων νόσων ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ πᾶν ὑποστρώσω κέρας.
125. Tr. Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War,'" 73.
"Ἰδοὺ παρέστιν ἡ τετρακτὺς μαρτύρων τῶν ἀρετῶν κοσμοῦσα τετράδι στέφος. The inscription appears on the right wing.
126. Although Oikonomides recognizes the manifestation of the Byzantine imperial ideology, he still concludes that the triptych was conceived as a private donation containing a prayer for health; Oikonomides, "The Concept of 'Holy War.'" 127. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, nos. 32-33, and I. Kalavrezou in *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 79-80, pp. 131-34.
128. A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques, 13) (Paris: Picard, 1984), 115-19, with bibliography.
129. Tr. I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962): 272. οἱ μάρτυρες δὲ συμμαχοῦσιν ὡς φίλῳ, ῥίπτοντες τοὺς ποσὶ προκειμένους.

130. The gradual militarization of warrior saints is a tendency already discerned by Kazhdan, who has remarked: "The evolution of the image of the military saints consists of the militarization of their roles: from civic official to warrior, from soldier to general, from foot soldier to mounted knight. The chronology of this development cannot be established with precision." ODB, II, 1374. How this tendency manifests itself in art is a topic for a future in-depth study. This issue, also formulated by I. Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 15) (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 63-65, and in *Glory of Byzantium*, 132-34, has not been resolved by Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art*, 270-84. By presenting Coptic, Georgian, and Cappadocian images out of chronological order, Walter obliterates the moment when warrior-saints become predominantly military-clad in Byzantium. It seems that though military-dressed warrior saints sporadically appear in the pre-Iconoclast period, only in the eleventh century is this representation more systematically employed.
131. N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavusin* (Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 102) (Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner, 1983), I, 43-57, and C. Jolivet-Levy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), 15-22, with recent bibliography. For Tokali, see also A. Wharton-Epstein, *Tokali Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 22) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 16 n. 6, 61 (St. Hieron, eleventh century), and 78 (St. Theodore, tenth century, yet it could well be a fresco executed in the eleventh century).
132. For a similar proliferation of depictions of warrior saints on horseback, in the frontier region of Morea in the thirteenth century, see S. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium*, 263-85.
133. See my discussion of this phenomenon in Chapter 1.
134. See note 131 above.

135. For other similar examples, see A. Wharton-Epstein, "Rock-Cut Chapels in the Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches," *Cahiers archéologiques* 24 (1974): 115-36.
136. Schreiner, "Aspekte der politischen Heiligenverehrung in Byzanz," 372-73. The promotion of the cult of the archangels as state symbols is not discussed in G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies*.
137. *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (Milan: Olivetti, 1984), 171-75.
138. Sotiriou and Sotiriou, *Eikones tes mones Sina*, 21-22, pls. 4-7; K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons: From the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), no. B.3, pp. 18-21; *Mother of God*, 262-63, with the most recent bibliography.
139. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, nos. 84, 129-30, 131, 138; only central panels, nos. 80, 81, 124, 125, 126, 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 141; only wings, nos. 120, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190. Some of these wings could also belong to triptychs of the Crucifixion.
140. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master*.
141. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, no. 78; Eastmond in *Mother of God*, 400-401; and Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 63-65.
142. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni"; R. Ousterhout, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992): 48-60; Ötügen, "Konstantin IX.—Soliman."
143. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Mone*, I, 65-69, 139-48; II, figs. 58-61.
144. I return to the pictorial tradition of military saints later on.
145. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Mone*, I, 22.
146. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni," 207-14. For the monastery of St. George at the Mangana Palace, see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Deutsches archäologisches Institut) (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), 136-38, with bibliography.
147. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, and Schrade, "Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians." Byzantium and the Arabs. For the history of the region, see M. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI-XII Centuries* (Tbilisi: Družba, 1987), 164-65.
148. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, I, 409-13; II, figs. 45-46 (Čukuli), and fig. 4 (Čihareši). The central panel of the Čukuli triptych is 47 × 53 cm (or 88.5 × 53 cm, pediment and lower frame included), each wing 50 × 24.5 cm. The central panel of the Čihareši triptych is 45 × 51 cm, each wing 50 × 20 cm.
149. Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, I, 234-37; II, figs. 130-31. See also *Schatzkammer Georgien: Mittelalterliche Kunst aus dem Staatlichen Kunstmuseum Tbilisi*, ed. W. Seibt et al. (Vienna: Gesellschaft bildender Künstler Österreichs, Künstlerhaus, 1981), 119, fig. 25. The size of the icon is 70.5 × 54 cm.
150. Saint Theodore survives in an earlier photograph in Čubinašvili, *Gruzinskoe čekannoe iskusstvo*, II, fig. 131.
151. For the offices, see Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI-XII Centuries*, 18, 160-61, 165-67.
152. *Jewelry and Metal Work at the Museums of Georgia*, ed. A. Javakhishvili (Tbilisi: Aurora Art Publishers, 1986), no. 187; N. Chichinadze, "Some Compositional Characteristics of Georgian Triptychs of the Thirteenth Through Fifteenth Centuries," *Gesta* 35/1 (1996): 66-76.
153. Saint Marina was chosen because she was the namesake patron of one of the donors of the icon. For the devotion to Saint Barbara in Svaneti, see Schrade, "Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians," 181-85.
154. Chichinadze, "Some Compositional Characteristics of Georgian Triptychs," 67-68.
155. Ibid., 68, with bibliography.
156. *Glory of Byzantium*, 127-29, with bibliography.
157. *Mother of God*, 444-46, with recent bibliography.
158. The second fourteenth-century steatite icon, also in Vatopedi, features the Virgin called *Eleousa* and Child. It is set in a silver case on whose reverse side appear Saints Demetrios and Theodore. *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. Karakatsanes (Thessaloniki: Organization for the Cultural Capital of Europe, 1997), 326-29, cat. nos. 9.6 and 9.7.
159. *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 326-28; Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 200-201, no. 126.

160. See my discussion of the iconography of the Hodegetria in Chapter 4.
161. In addition, other Komnenian iconographic types of the Virgin, such as the Kykkotissa and the "Kardiotissa," presented the image of a double sacrifice of the Mother and Child. For the Kykkotissa, see Carr, "The Presentation of an Icon at Mount Sinai," *Deltion tes christianikes archaiologikes hetaireias* 17 (1993-94): 239-48.
162. B. Todić, *Staro Nagoričino* (Belgrade: Birografika, 1993), 32-33, 223.
163. According to the legend, Diocletian awarded Saint George, for his courage, the title *tropaio-phoros*, or bearer of the trophy, the person who carried on a pole a set of the enemy's armor in order to bring about an auspicious outcome of the battle. *The Passion and Miracles of the Great Martyr and Victorious Wonderworker St. George* (Seattle: St. Nectarios Press, 1988), 3.
164. Babić, "Il modello e la replica," 71-78.
165. Lazarev, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," esp. 43-47 (for "the Virgin with the Playing Child").
166. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa: Variantes extrêmes du type *Vierge de Tendresse*," *Byzantion* 53/1 (1983): 9-16, esp. 12. In fact, Hadermann-Misguich suggests a connection with Christ Anapeson in a similar Marian icon (ibid., 12).
167. Ῥωμαίᾳ με ἡδονῆς τὸν πληγέντα καὶ κείμενον τραυματίαν, ἄχραντε, μὴ ὑπερίδης· ἀλλ' ἴσσαι λόγῃ καὶ τῷ αἵματι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος υἱοῦ σου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. From *Theotokarion*, ed. S. Eustratiades (Chennevières-sur-Marne: L'Ermitage, 1931), no. 62, vv. 53-59, p. 201.
168. *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. Manaphes (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1990), 122-23, no. 74.
169. C. Baltoyanni, *Eikones Meter Theou* (Athens: Ekdoseis Adam, 1994), 91-95.
170. A. Nicolaïdes, "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera, Chypre: Étude iconographique des fresques de 1192," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 1-138, esp. 110-11.
171. *Akolouthia I*, ed. Détorakis and Mossay, "Un office byzantin."
172. Νεανικῶς συμπλακέντας πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς γενναϊοτάτους σου στρατιώτας, Ἰησοῦ, καὶ

- πεπεδημένους ὑπὲρ σοῦ τῷ τοῦ αἵματος λουτρῷ πλύνας καθάρισον. Ibid., 190, vv. 87-92.
173. αἰτεῖ σε θερμὸν φρουρὸν ἐν μάχαις ἔχειν/ αἵματι τῷ σῷ καὶ μύρῳ κεχρίσμενον. *Glory of Byzantium*, 167-68. For the corrected inscription, see I. Ševčenko, "Observations Concerning Inscriptions on Objects Described in the Catalogue *The Glory of Byzantium*," *Palaeoslavica* 6 (1998): 246.
174. The same idea is presented by G. Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (New York/London: Routledge, 1992), 3, 122-23. The author argues that the development of the *epitaphios logos* (funeral oration) in Athens in the fifth century was meant to supersede women's laments and present death for the state as a heroic act, thereby justifying the conscription of a standing army in service of the state. Holst-Warhaft writes about the antisocial effect of lament as follows: "by focusing as it does on mourning and loss rather than praise of the dead, it denies the value of death for the community or state, making it difficult for authorities to recruit an obedient army" (*Dangerous Voices*, 3).
175. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 523.
176. Ἄλλην ἐπὶ γῆς συμμαχίαν ἢ καὶ προστασίαν ἐν κινδύνοις οὐ γινώσκω, ἢ ὑπέρμαχον ἐν ἀνάγκαις, εἰμὶ σὲ τὴν πάναγνον Θεοτόκον ὅθεν προσπίπτω καὶ κράζω σοι Δέσποινα τοῦ κόσμου, αἰεὶ φρουρὸς γενοῦ μοι. From *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades, no. 107, vv. 175-80, p. 341.

Part Two

1. Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople"; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., I, 694, vv. 21-34; Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy."
2. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 754-55.

Chapter 4

1. ODB, III, 2172-73; Seibt, "Die Darstellung der Theotokos," 37-38; Kondakov, *Ikonoğrafija Bogomateri*, II, 152-249.
2. A similar statement may be found in Grabar, "Remarques sur l'iconographie byzantine de la Vierge," 176-77.

3. The earliest imperial seal displaying this particular iconographic type belongs to Emperor Constantine IV (681–85); Zacos I, no. 23. For other images, see *Mother of God*, 264–65, figs. 1, 3, 169, 199. For an example of the traditional lack of distinction between the pre- and post-Iconoclast image types, see H. Thørp, “Una vergine Hodighitria del periodo iconoclastico nel ‘Tempietto Longobardo’ di Cividale,” in *Arte d’Occidente: Temi e metodi: Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, ed. A. Cadei et al. (Rome: Sintesi informazione, 1999), II, 583–99.
4. N. Chatzedakes, *Byzantine Mosaics* (Hellenike techne) (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1994), no. 21, with recent bibliography.
5. For the icon at Santa Maria Maggiore, see Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 24–28. For the Pantheon, see *Aurea Roma*, 661–62, with recent bibliography. I am purposefully not discussing the fifth-century icon from Santa Maria Antiqua, because the only remnants of the original icon are the heads of the Virgin and Child. These pieces were inserted into a new wood panel in the thirteenth century. No evidence survives regarding the original position of the hands. A. Weis, “Ein vorjustinianischer Ikonentypus in S. Maria Antiqua,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 8 (1958): 17–61, and P. Amato, *De vera effigie Mariae: Antiche icone romane* (Rome: A. Mondadori, 1988), 18–24.
6. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, B2, pp. 15–18. For the most recent bibliography, see *Mother of God*, 264–65. In contrast to the huge panel from Pantheon, the Kiev icon is small: 35.4 × 20.6 cm.
7. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, B40, p. 67; Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, 70.
8. In contrast to the thesis presented in Kalavrezou, “Images of the Mother.”
9. This feature appears to have escaped the attention of scholars; I will return to it in the last chapter of this book.
10. P. Vocotopoulos, *Byzantines eikones* (Hellenike techne) (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1995), fig. 15.
11. John of Euchaita, *Poemi*, in P. Lagarde, ed., “Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt,” *Abhandlungen der historisch-philosophischen Classe der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 28/1 (1881): 1–228, esp. 38.
12. C. Walter, “Two Notes on the Deesis,” *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968): 311–36; idem, “Further Notes on the Deesis,” *Revue des études byzantines* 28 (1970): 161–87.
13. A. Cutler and W. North, “Ivories, Inscriptions, and Episcopal Self-Consciousness in the Ottonian Empire: Berthold of Toul and the Berlin Hodegetria,” *Gesta* 42/1 (2003): 1–17.
14. P. Hetherington, “Byzantine Enamels on a Venetian Book-Cover,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 27 (1978): 117–45; idem, “A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-Century Venice,” *Arte Veneta* 37 (1983): 9–30; *L’oro di Siena: Il tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*, ed. L. Bellosi (Milan: Skira, 1996), 90–104.
15. “In this church [the Hodegon] is a picture of Our Lady the Virgin, made by St. Luke, and on the other side is Our Lord crucified. It is painted on a panel [*losa*, which Letts translated as “stone,” but this is a misconception; the word is used in the generic sense of “panel”], and with the frame and stand, it weighs, they say, several hundred-weight.” From Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439*, tr. M. Letts (London: Routledge, 1926), 141–42. A. Vasiliev, tr., “Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and His Visit to Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 7 (1932): 75–122. In addition, Ruy González de Clavijo wrote the following during his sojourn in Constantinople in 1403–6: “The Picture is painted on a wooden board, square in shape and six palms high by the like across. The board stands supported on two feet, and the painting itself is now covered over by a silver plate in which are encased numerous emeralds, sapphires, turquoises, and great pearls with other precious stones. The Picture is preserved [for safety] in an iron chest.” From Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406: Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, tr. G. Le Strange (London: Routledge, 1928), 83–85. The account of Stephen of Novgorod about his stay in the capital in the period 1348–49 focuses on the ritual more than the icon; *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*,

tr. G. Majeska (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 19) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 36–37.

16. It measures 97 × 67 cm. For bibliography, see V. Djurić, *Ikone de Jugoslavie* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1961), 85–86, no. 4; Vocotopoulos, *Byzantines eikones*, nos. 67–68, pp. 88–89, 206; *Trésors médiévaux de la République de Macédoine, Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge: Thermes de Cluny, 9 février–3 mai 1999* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1999), 62–63. For the role of double-sided icons in the celebrations during Holy Week, see D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus—das Bild* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 2) (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität München, 1965).
17. The same idea is expressed in texts: ἐνγκαλισμένην τὸν θεάνθρωπον λόγον, translated as “holding in her hands the Logos in a divinely human form.” The excerpt comes from Leo the Deacon’s description of the Bulgarian icon of the Virgin brought on a chariot for Tzimiskes’ triumphal procession in A.D. 971. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, IX.12, Bonn ed., 158, vv. 11–12.
18. Typikon of the monastery of Theotokos Evergetis, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 474.
19. *The Lenten Triodion*, tr. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London/Boston: Faber & Faber, 1977; rpt. 1984), 621.
20. N. Constatas, “Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos, and the Loom of the Flesh,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3/2 (1995): 164–94, and idem, *Proclus of Constantinople*, 315–58. Similar symbolism (curtain/flesh) is presented in the ninth-century homily of George of Nikomedia, PG 100, col. 1424, and the twelfth-century homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos, in I. Hutter, ed., *Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus und ihre Illustrationen, Vat. Gr. 1162 und Paris. Gr. 1208* (Ph.D. diss., Universität zu Wien, 1970), app. I, 26 (fol. 109 in the Vat. MS). For the Latin West, see P. Kern, *Trinität, Maria, Inkarnation: Studien zur Thematik der deutschen Dichtung des späteren Mittelalters* (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 55) (Berlin: Schmidt 1971), 189–220; M. Wehrli-Johns, “Haushälterin Gottes: Zur Mariennachfolge der Beginnen,” in *Maria, Abbild oder Vorbild? Zur Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Marienverehrung*, ed. H. Röchelein, C. Opitz, and D. R. Bauer (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 1990), 147–67; L. P. Wyss, “Die Handarbeiten der Maria: Eine ikonographische Studie unter Berücksichtigung der Techniken,” in *Artes minores: Dank an Werner Abegg*, ed. M. Stettler and M. Lemberg (Bern: Stämpfli, 1973), 113–81; G. M. Gibson, “The Thread of Life in the Hand of the Virgin,” in *Equally in God’s Image: Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. B. Holloway, C. S. Wright, and J. Bechtold (New York: P. Lang, 1990), 46–54.
21. For instance, the instructions for the funeral preparation of a monk’s body always specify that the body should not be seen completely naked; *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 438.
22. Similar conclusions are reached by R. L. Wolff, “A footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria,” *Traditio* 6 (1948): 319–28; Angelidi, “Un texte patriographique”; C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery,” in *Mother of God*, 373–87, and B. Zeitler, “Cults Disrupted and Memories Recaptured: Events in the Life of the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople,” in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIX International Congress of the History of Art, Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, ed. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 701–8. I came across this last article only after I had finished writing this book.
23. Vloberg, “Le types iconographiques de la Mère de Dieu,” 426–29; Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 152–249, esp. 154–55; Wellen, *Theotokos: Eine ikonographische Abhandlung*, 176–78.
24. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnosta*.
25. καὶ ὅτι ἡ Εὐδοκία τῇ Πουλχερίᾳ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπέστειλεν. Theodore Anagnostes, ed. Hansen, 100, and PG 86, col. 165A.
26. Πουλχερία ἡ εὐσεβὴς ἐτελεύτησεν πολλὰ κατορθώματα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐαυτῆς πτωχοῖς καταλείψασα· ἅπερ Μαρκανὸς οὐκ ἀνέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς χρεαίαις ἀπάσαις προθύμως ὑπηρετήσεν. Ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ εὐκτηρίους οἴκους Πουλχερία πολλοὺς, τὸν ἐν

- Βλαχέρναις, τὸν Χαλκοπρατείων, τὸν Ὁδηγῶν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὸν Λαυρεντίου τοῦ μάρτυρος. PG 86, col. 168C.
27. Hansen, *Theodorus Anagnosta*, xxxv, 100. The excerpt appears in manuscripts B and V, dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The first person to cast doubt on this legend was Wolff, "A Footnote to an Incident," 322ff.
28. See my discussion in the next section. See also Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople," and idem, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis."
29. Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 114; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Hodegetria," 373–74; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Poikila Byzantina 8) (Bonn: Habelt, 1988), 376. Before Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, George Pachymeres (1242–1310) mentions the same legend, i.e., that the Hodegetria was painted by the apostle Luke and sent from Palestine to Constantinople by the empress Eudokia to her sister-in-law Pulcheria. Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*, II.31, ed. A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Relations historiques* (CFHB, 24) (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1984), I, 217, vv. 11–18: καὶ δὴ πέμψας ἄγει ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος τὴν σεβασμίαν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος, ἣν λόγος ἔργον μὲν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ Λουκᾶ, ἐκεῖσε που παρούσης κάκείνης καὶ θεωμένης, δῶρον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι Πουλχερίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι παρὰ τῆς νύμφης αὐτῆς Εὐδοκίας τῆς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ δεσποίνης, καὶ δῶρον ἀξιόχρεον ὄντως ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἀποσταλέν.
30. Τρεῖς δ' ὑπερμεγέθεις δόμους καὶ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ μητρὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνίστη κρηπίδων· ὧν εἷς ὁ τῶν Χαλκοπρατείων τῆς ἁγίας σοροῦ ὄνομα ἔχων, ᾧ τὴν ζώνην τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐθησαύριζε· περὶ οὗ μετρίως τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ ἐν δευτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήκαμεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ παννυχίδα καὶ λιτὴν κατὰ πᾶσαν τετράδα ἐθέσπιζε γίνεσθαι· καὶ αὐτῆς περὶ προϊούσης, συνάμα φωτὶ ὃ πηγάζει λαμπάς. Δεύτερος ὁ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν ἐστίν· ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐξ Ἀντιόχου σταλεῖσαν εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μητρὸς ἀντίθει, ἣν Λουκᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος χερσὶ καθιστόρει, ζώσης ἔτι, καὶ τὸν τύπον ὁρώσης, καὶ τὴν χάριν τῇ μορφῇ ἐνείσης. Ἡ δὴ τις εἰκὼν ἐν τῷ Τριβουναλίῳ λεγομένῳ πρῶτως τὸ ἐξ δεῦρο τελούμενον αὐτῇ διεπράξατο· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατὰ τρίτην τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν παννυχίδα καὶ λιτὴν ἐνομοθέτει τελεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ
- καὶ ἐς δεῦρο ὁρᾶται τηρούμενον. Τρίτον δ' ἕτερον κάλλει ἀμυθῆτω καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ὕλαις κοσμοῦμενον τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ἀφιέρου μητρὶ, ᾧ Βλαχέρναι ἐπάνυμον· PG 147, cols. 41–44.
31. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. I, vol. III, 169–79 (on the Blachernai), 246–51 (on the Chalkoprateia), 208–16 (on the Hodegon).
32. The Hodegon is not mentioned among the religious foundations of Pulcheria in the early-ninth-century chronicles of George Harmatolos and Theophanes. George Harmatolos, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, II, 610. Here only the monastery of St. Lawrence is attributed to Pulcheria. In the chronicle of Theophanes, Pulcheria is credited as the founder of the monastery of St. Lawrence and the Blachernai. Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I, 105 (A.M. 5943 [A.D. 450/51]), 106 (A.M. 5945 [A.D. 452/53]); English tr. in *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. and ed. Mango and Scott, 162, 164. See also Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, 376–78.
33. Οἱ δὲ Ὁδηγοὶ ἐκτίσθησαν παρὰ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Βασιλείου· πρότερον εὐκτήριον ὑπῆρχεν καὶ τυφλῶν πολλῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκεῖσε πηγῇ βλεψάντων καὶ θαύματα πολλὰ γηγόνασιν. From *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, III.27, ed. T. Preger (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901), II, 223.
34. Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 123; Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, 89, 96, 376–78.
35. Καὶ δὴ τις τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν τῆς πόλεως τοῦνομα Ἰωάννης, ἀναγνωστικῶ βαθμῷ τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν λεγομένων Ὁδηγῶν σχολάζων. From *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 176–77, sect. 16.d.
36. On συντακτήριος as a "farewell speech," see Demetrakou, *Mega lexikon tes Hellenikes glosses*, VIII, 6980.
37. A similar account is also recorded by Genesios, *Regum*, IV.20: "For he [Bardas] had visited a nearby monastery, called the Hodegon; and while he was standing before the entrance to the place of prayer offering farewell hymns with lit candles, his cloak suddenly slipped off his shoulders and openly fell on the ground. When he realized the importance of what had happened, he addressed

loud and mournful requests to the Virgin with tears in his eyes, and prayed that he be allowed to evade what he suspected would happen." From *Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors*, tr. A. Kaldellis (Byzantina Australiensia II) (Canberra: Australian Association of Byzantine Studies, 1998), 91–92. For the Greek text, see *Regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn (CFHB, 14) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 73, with references for all the other Greek authors describing the same incident. The Hodegon monastery does not seem to have been the center of important religious or civic celebration, since it is not mentioned in the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople or *De Ceremoniis*.

38. Even though no icons are mentioned in the text, some scholars have still used the excerpt to posit their existence. Wellen, *Theotokos: Eine ikonographische Abhandlung*, 210–14; Wolff, "A Footnote to an Incident," 324.
39. Tr. by P. Halsall, "Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos," in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 311. Ἐγένετο ποτε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ταύτῃ σχολάζουσα τοῖς θεοῖς σηκοῖς καὶ ταῖς παννύχιοις ὕμνωδiais χαιρούση προσιέναι καὶ τῷ θεῷ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν (τῇ νῦν καλουμένη Ὁδηγητρίᾳ) σηκῷ· ἔνθα καὶ περὶ που μίαν τῶν πανσέπτων εἰκόνων τῆς θεομήτορος ἵστατο καὶ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος προσεδρευούση τῷ εἰρημένῳ τῷ θεῷ σηκῷ, ἅφ' οὗ πρῶταίτερον πρόεισιν ἢ πάνσεπτος τῆς παναμώμου κόρης εἰκὼν κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμέραν παρὰ πάντων κυδαζομένη καὶ προσκυνουμένη κατὰ τὸ σύνθηδες. From *Vita Thomaidis*, in AASS, Nov. vol. IV, pp. 233–46, esp. p. 238.
40. *Holy Women of Byzantium*, 291–322, esp. 219–92, 311, n. 100.
41. A. Kazhdan, "List of Saints, First to Tenth Centuries," an unpublished work kept at Dumbarton Oaks.
42. The monastery of Ankourios on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphoros is known only from eleventh- and twelfth-century sources. Similarly, a metochion of Ankourios was built in Constantinople at the time of Emperor Constantine Monomachos (1042–55). Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. I, vol. III, 13, 27–28.
43. Angelidi suggests even a twelfth-century date; "Un texte patriographique," 123, n. 57.

44. Commentarius de imagine Deiparae Mariae Romanae (BHG 16–18), ed. Dobschütz, "Maria Romeia."
45. Ibid., 175, 214. A second recension of the text, dating to the late eleventh century and later reworked in the thirteenth century, has been published in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 233**–66**. This recension, B, is much lengthier, yet it does not include any miracles performed by the icon of the Virgin *Romaia*. It reads like a compilation of stories about several important icons of the Virgin. It starts with an icon painted by Luke, showing the Virgin possibly holding the Child. Mary's appearance is described in detail: beautiful eyes, well-proportioned nose, dark eyelashes and eyebrows, and blond-red hair. When the Virgin saw her painted image, she bestowed her grace on it. The image of the Virgin at Lydda is described next, followed by the icon of the Virgin in the church of Aeneas, and finally the copy of the icon of Lydda made by Patriarch Germanos. This panel, later named *Maria Romaia*, was brought to Constantinople. During Iconoclasm it allegedly swam to Rome, and finally, upon the renewal of Orthodoxy, it came back to Constantinople (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 254**–58**). At that point the icon was deposited in the Chalkoprateia. A special commemorative procession was instituted for its feast day on September 8, modeled on the Tuesday procession of the Hodegetria.
46. Dobschütz, "Maria Romeia," 210.
47. N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Le monde byzantine) (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972), 297.
48. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ τρίτην προελεύσεως τυπωθείσης τῆς Θεοτόκου τῶν Ὁδηγῶν, οἱ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὁμηγύρεως σπουδαιότεροι διακονίαν ἀδελφῶν συστησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ταύτην ἀνέλαβον καὶ ἐν τῇ θεῇ καὶ ἱερωτῇ λιτανείᾳ τῇ τελουμένη καθ' ἐβδομάδα μίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας ἐπὶ προελεύσεως προπορεύεσθαι δικαιοῦσαντες ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίῳις ναοῖς τῶν ἁγίων φοιτᾶν διετάξαντο, καθὼς ἡ ἀρχαία παράδοσις μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο διακρατεῖ. From Commentarius de imagine Deiparae Mariae Romanae, ed. Dobschütz, "Maria Romeia," 202. Since the *Maria Romaia*

- icon was deposited at the Chalkoprateia church and had its own procession on September 8, the feast of the Birth of the Virgin (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 258**), it is likely that the story was composed as a reading for the celebration of the feast day. For the feast at the Chalkoprateia church on September 8, see SynaxCP, 25–30, esp. 30.
49. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Dispositio Topografica, 14, ed. Preger, II, 292. The passage occurs in several manuscripts that form the recension C (also known as *Anonymous Banduri*). The text starts with a poem dedicated to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (ibid., 290). Preger dates the recension C (manuscripts D, E, F) to 1100 (ibid., I, xi), while Berger dates recension C to the early years of Alexios's rule; Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, 89–90, 96, 197, no. 71 (the location of the Hodegon on the map of Constantinople).
50. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τζουκανιστηρίου, τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας, τῶν Μαγγάνων καὶ μέχρι Βλαχερνῶν. From *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Dispositio Topografica, 14, ed. Preger, II, 292, v. 14. With the exception of the Tzikianisterion, a field at the tip of the peninsula, all the other sites are monasteries. The Hodegetria/Hodegon foundation was also positioned close to the eastern end of the city, overlooking the Bosphorus; ta Mangana was built on the northwestern border along the Golden Horn, while the Blachernai was at the northwestern end of the city wall (fig. 1).
51. Angelidi has attributed the relative obscurity of the monastery in the ninth and early tenth centuries to the attempt of the Macedonian dynasty to obliterate the traces of Michael III's patronage from the map of Constantinople. Angelidi and Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Hodegetria," 376.
52. Similar conclusions are drawn in ibid., 373–87.
53. For the Luke legend, see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 267**–80**; G. Kraut, *Lukas malt die Madonna: Zeugnisse zum künstlerischen Selbstverständnis in der Malerei* (Worms: Werner, 1986); J. O. Schaefer, "Saint Luke as Painter: From Saint to Artisan to Artist," in *Artistes, artisans, et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. X. Barral i Altet (Colloque international, May 2–6, 1983, CNRS: Université de Rennes II), (Paris: Picard, 1986), I, 413–27; M. Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista: Storia delle immagini attribuite a san Luca* (Pisa: Gisem, 1998).
54. Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista*, 114–29.
55. Some of the accounts I have translated and analyzed in this section; for the rest, I only provide the references: *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, PG 95, col. 321; Patriarch Nikephoros I, *Refutatio et versio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, 142 (LXXXII.58); Stephen the Younger, *Vita*, ed. Auzépy, 99–100 (sect. 9); George Harmatolos, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, II, 741, 785; Continuatus of George Harmatolos in *Theophanes Continuatus*, Bonn ed., 773; Theophanes Continuatus, III.11, Bonn ed., 101; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., II, 111; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 59.
56. The association of the Lukan icon with Jerusalem and Rome follows the same pattern as that of the transmission of texts in the eighth and ninth centuries, after the Arab conquest: from the East (Jerusalem, Damascus) to Rome. For the text transmission, see Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome*, I, 177–79.
57. For the visual representations of Saint Luke painting the portrait of the Virgin and Child, see my discussion in *Mother of God*, 390–93, with the correction that the miniature from Harvard College Library, Gr. 25, fol. 52v, is a nineteenth-century forgery; for the latter, see G. Vikan, "A Group of Forged Byzantine Miniatures," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 48 (1978–79): 53–70.
58. The authorship of this homily has been questioned. N. V. Tomadakes, *Eisagoge eis ten Byzantinien philologian*, II, *He byzantine hymnographia kai poiesis* (Athens: Ek tou typ. adelphon Myrtide, 1965–69), 192–93; M.-F. Auzépy, "La carrière d'André de Crète," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995): 1–12, esp. 7. Andrew of Crete was born in Damascus around 660 A.D., started his career in Jerusalem, and was sent early on a mission to Constantinople in 680, where he spent most of his life. He was eventually elected a bishop of Crete in 711. He stayed there until 730, when he was recalled back to Constantinople. Because of his anti-iconoclastic affiliation, he was sent into exile and died in Mytilene ca. 740.

59. Οὐδὲν ἀναπόδεικτον ἢ ἔκφυλον ἔχει ὁ Χριστιανισμός. Καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων χρῆσις ἐκ παραδόσεως ἐστὶ παλαιᾶς, καὶ ἔχομεν ὑποδείγματα πιστὰ συνηγοροῦντα τῇ τῶν εἰκόνων ἀποδείξει. . . . Τρίτον ὑπόδειγμα. Λουκᾶν τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν ἅπαντες οἱ τότε εἰρήκασιν οἰκείας ζωγραφῆσαι χερσὶν αὐτόν τε τὸν σαρκωθέντα Χριστόν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄχραντον Μητέρα, καὶ τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας ἔχειν τὴν Ῥώμην εἰς οἰκείαν εὐκλειαν. Καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὲ ἐπ' ἀκριβείας κεῖσθαι ταύτας φασὶν [. . .] ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου σχηματισμὸν καθ' ὃν νῦν ὁρᾶται, ἦν καὶ Ῥωμαίαν ἀποκαλοῦσιν τινες. Andrew of Crete, PG 97, cols. 1301D, 1304C.
60. A similar conclusion may be found in Wolff, "A Footnote to an Incident," 323.
61. Tr. in *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, 38–39, sect. 7.5. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀπόστολος καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Λουκᾶς τὸν σεβάσμιον καὶ θεῖον χαρακτήρα τῆς ἁγίας θεομήτορος Μαρίας ἔτι ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ποιουμένης ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Σιών, ζωγραφικαῖς ταῖς μίξεσι τὴν τῆς Πανάγνου στήλην ἐν πίνακι διεχάραξεν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῇ μετέπειτα γενεᾷ ἐγκαταλελοιπώς, καὶ ταύτην αὐτῇ τῇ Θεομήτορι ὑποδείξαντος, τῆς δὲ φησάσης, Ἡ χάρις μου μετ' αὐτῆς ἔσται. See also the discussion of Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 122–31, esp. 126.
62. τὶ δαὶ καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Λουκᾶς, οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτὸς φαίνεται πρῶτος στηλογραφήσας τὴν σαρκομοιόμορφον εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρός, ἥτις καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν σώζεται ἔν τε τῇ μεγάλῃ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλει. Tr. and Greek text from *Life of Michael the Synkellos*, ed. and tr. M. Cunningham (Belfast: Byzantine Texts in Translation, 1) (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1991), 66–67. Saint Michael the Synkellos lived between A.D. 761 and 846; his *vita* was written A.D. 846–76.
63. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ χαριέστατον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος τοῦ ἑμοῦ Χριστοῦ τύπον, τὸν τε τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης καὶ δούσης τὸ πρόσλημμα χαρακτήρα, πρῶτος οὗτος κηρῶ καὶ χρώμασι βάψας, ἐν εἰκόνι τιμᾶσθαι μέχρι καὶ νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἄρκοῦν εἶναι νομίζων, εἰ μὴ καὶ δι' εἰκόνας καὶ τύπου ἐντυγχάνει τοῖς ποθοῦμένοις, ὅπερ φιλίας θερμότητος ἐστὶ τεκμήριον· οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πιστοῖς πᾶσι καὶ φιλοχρίστοις τὰ μέγιστα χαριζόμενος. From Symeon Metaphrastes, PG 115, col. 1136B.
64. Λουκᾶς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης· ἱατρός, καὶ ζωγράφος. From PG 117, col. 113D.
65. For *Descriptio I*, see S. Mercati, ed., "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitanae secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista latina," *Rendiconti: Atti della Pontifica Accademia romana di archeologia* 12 (1936): 133–56, and Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais."
66. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," 221.
67. "In parte palacii prope sancta Sophia in mari iuxta magnum palacium est monasterium sanctae Mariae Dei genetricis. Et in ipso monasterio est sancta imago sanctae Dei genetricis que vocatur Odigitria, quod est interpretatum deducatrix quia in illo tempore erant duo ceci, et apparuit illis sancta Maria et deduxit eos ad aecclesiam suam et illuminavit oculos eorum et viderunt lumen. Ipsam ergo imaginem sanctae Mariae Dei genetricis pinxit Lucas euangelista cum Salvatore in brachio eius. Et cum ista imagine Dei genetricis faciunt processionem omni die Martis per totam civitatem cum magno honore et cantatis et hymnis. Multi enim populi ambulant cum ea, masculi in antea et femine retro." From ibid., 249, and Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitanae," 144.
68. *Descriptio II*, ed. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," 117–40.
69. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," 131.
70. Ibid., 134.
71. "Est quoque alia ecclesia que Odigitria dicitur, in qua est gloriosa Dei genetricis ycona quam beatus Luchas euangelista, ut aiunt Greci, depinxit." From ibid., 127. The text continues with a description of the Tuesday procession, which I discuss later on in this chapter.
72. The editor of PG 132 has mistakenly attributed the text to the ninth-century Theophanes Kerameus.
73. Philagathos Kerameus, in *Filagato da Cerami: Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e feste di tutto l'anno*, ed. G. R. Taibbi (Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici: Testi e monumenti, 11)

- (Palermo, 1969), xix. The Lukan myth appears in the homily on the Sunday of Orthodoxy; it is published as no. XX in PG 132, but appears as no. 40 in Taibbi's edition. See also Zervou-Tognazzi, "L'iconografia e la 'vita' delle miracolose icone della Theotokos Brefokratoussa," 218; Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista*, 82.
74. Καὶ μὲν καὶ Λουκᾶς ὁ γλαφυρὸς εὐαγγελιστὴς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος κηρῶ καὶ χρώμασιν ἐξωγράφησεν, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὠλέναις ἀγκαλιζομένην τὸν Κύριον, ἥτις ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει νῦν διασώζεται. Philagathos Kerameus, in PG 132, col. 440A.
75. The icon of the Madonna di San Sisto from the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria "in Tempulo" is the earliest instance of a Roman panel attributed to the hand of Luke, as recorded in an eleventh-century lectionary; see Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 318; Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista*, 250–80.
76. V. Grumel, "Le patriarcat et les patriarches d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantin (969–1084)," *Échos d'Orient* 31 (1932): 129–47, esp. 134.
77. M. Bacci, "Relics and Holy Icons as Historical Mementos: The Idea of Apostolicity in Constantinople and Rome (11th–13th Centuries)," an abstract published in *Relics in the Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow, 2000), 32–33.
78. Mesarites, *Descriptio ecclesiae sanctorum apostolorum*, ed. and tr. G. Downey, "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 47/V1 (1957): 855–924, esp. 891, 915 (sect. 39, 7); Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*, II.31, ed. Failler and Laurent, I, 217, writing at the end of the thirteenth century; Xanthopoulos, PG 147, cols. 41–44, in the fourteenth century; and the *Logos Diegematikos* of the fifteenth century, published by Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 141.
79. Downey, "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles," 891, 915 (chap. 39, sect. 7). Πουλχερίας ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τοῦτου ἔγγιστα κείμενος. Εὐδοξὸς αὕτη καὶ περιβόητος τῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν δομητρία μονῆς· ὅρα γὰρ, ὅπως καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν ἀνέχει
- παρθένος οὔσα τὸ τῆς πανάγνου καὶ παρθένου ὁμοίωμα. From *ibid.*, 915 (chap. 39, sect. 7).
80. Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 121, 141.
81. ταῦτα δὴ τὰ σεπτὰ καὶ θεῖα δῶρα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων μοναστῶν ἐκείνων ὥσπερ τινὰ πολῦτιμον θησαυρὸν ἡ βασιλὶς Εὐδοκία λαβοῦσα τῇ βασιλίσῃ Πουλχερίᾳ τῇ γαμετῇ Μαρκιανοῦ, ἀδελφῇ δὲ Θεοδοσίῳ, οἷα παρ' αὐτῆς φυλαττόμενα γνησίως ἐξέπεμψεν. Ἀπερ ἡ Πουλχερία, πῶς ἂν τις εἴπῃ, περιχαρῶς δεξαμένη τῷ περιωνύμῳ τῷδε καὶ θεῷ τῆς Θεοτόκου ναῶ κατέθετο, τὴν δὲ γε ἁγίαν καὶ σεπτὴν εἰκόνα εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἀνακτόρων καὶ πάσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τυγχάνειν ἐκέλευσεν, Ὁδηγὸν τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων ἐπονομάσασα. Καὶ ταύτην καθ' ἐκάστην τρίτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐβδομάδος μετὰ ψαλμῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὕμνων περιέειναι τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς ἐναντίου καὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τῶν λυπουμένων εὐμενὲς παραμύθιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλως κακουμένων καὶ ὀδυνωμένων πανσθενεστάτην βοήθειαν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀοίδιμος αὕτη βασιλὶς Πουλχερία καὶ τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις τῆς Θεοτόκου ναὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρωτείοις ἐδείματο. Καὶ ἐκεῖσε μὲν, ἐκ Βλαχερνῶν, καθ' ἐσπέραν τῆς ἑκτῆς ἡμέρας τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἐξέρχεσθαι μεθ' ὕμνων καὶ λαμπάδων ἐθέσπισεν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς λιτανεύειν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας ἐξευμενίζεσθαι. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀοιδίμου βασιλίδος Πουλχερίας ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ λιτῇ διηλεκῶς ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶν ἐφεπομένης καὶ λαμπαδηφορούσης σὺν γυναιξὶ παρθένοις καὶ σώφροσι καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίαν ἐξευμενίζεσθαι. *Logos Diegematikos of the Hodegon Monastery*, ed. Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 141.
82. Halsall, "Life of Thomaïs of Lesbos," 311; Dobschütz, "Maria Romeia," 202.
83. The new procession of the *Maria Romaia* icon was modeled after the Hodegetria *litanía*: καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος ποιουμένη τὴν προέλευσιν κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς μεγάλης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τελουμένης πάντοτε λιτῆς διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ περιέειναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς εὐτάκτως ναοὺς καὶ καθαγιαίνουσα κατὰ πάσαν πάντων ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδον. (And now each week a procession is made, modeled after the great one always carried out on Tuesdays through the Mese of the city, and it [the new procession] is going through

the holy sanctuaries in an orderly manner and making offerings [performing the Mass] to the annual cycle.) From Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 258**, sect. 16.

84. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: Die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 13–15, figs. 46, 50a (Dečani); 66a, 70a, b, 76a, b (Matejč); 112–14 (Markov).
85. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figurative Processional Crosses*, 23. Processional objects also feature in the discussion of the Roman procession on August 15; Kessler and Zacharias, *Rome 1300*, 66–69, figs. 60–62.
86. *Glory of Byzantium*, 64–65; J.-P. Caillet, "La croix byzantine du musée de Cluny," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 3 (1988): 208–17; C. Mango, "La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn," *Cahiers archéologiques* 36 (1998): 41–49.
87. H. Maguire, "Abaton and Oikonomia: St. Neophytos and the Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 95–105.
88. Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother," and R. Deshman, "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 518–46, esp. 542.
89. N. P. Ševčenko, "The Limburg Staurothek and Its Relics," in *Thymiamata mnemata Laskarinas Boura*, ed. M. Vassilaki et al. (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1994), I, 289–94. For the miniature, see *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613)* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 8) (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1907), and *Glory of Byzantium*, 100–101.
90. *Le Typikon de la Grand Église*, ed. Mateos, and *De Ceremoniis*, Bonn ed.
91. *Il menologio di Basilio II*, fol. 142, and *Glory of Byzantium*, 100–102, with recent bibliography.
92. *Il menologio di Basilio II*, fol. 142, and *Glory of Byzantium*, 100–101. See also J. Baldovin, "A Note on the Liturgical Processions in the Menologion of Basil II (MS. Vat. Gr. 1613)," in

- Eulogema: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, 25–37.
93. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlacherna Monastery (Area of Arta)," in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Athens, 1981), II/A, 1–14, and eadem, "The Basilissa Anna Palaiologina of Arta and the Monastery of Vlacherna," in *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin: Actes du Symposium d'Athènes*, ed. J. Perreault (Athens: Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 1991), 43–49.
94. *Russian Travelers*, tr. Majeska, 36–37.
95. The market is also mentioned by Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, tr. Letts, 142.
96. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, tr. Le Strange, 83–85.
97. Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, tr. Letts, 141–42.
98. *Russian Travelers*, tr. Majeska, 37.
99. For the Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine processions with the Hodegetria, see A. Lidov, "The Flying Hodegetria: The Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. E. Thunø and G. Wolf (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum, 35) (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 291–321. His analysis of the Byzantine and Latin sources discussing the eleventh- and twelfth-century processions is problematic.
100. "Est quoque alia ecclesia que Odigitria dicitur, in qua est gloriosa Dei genetricis ycona quam beatus Luchas euangelista, ut aiunt Greci, depinxit. Haec in summa veneratione est in Constantinopolitana urbe adeo ut per totum anni curriculum omni ebdomada feria .iii. deferitur a clericis per urbem cum maximo honore, preeunte ac subsequente per maxima virorum ac mulierum multitudine canentium laudes Dei genetricis ac cereos ardentis tenentium in manibus suis. Cerneret in hac processione que, ut dixit, tertia feria fit omni tempore multos et diversos cultus hominum, audires multas dulcisonas voces non solum clericorum verum et laicorum et quod magis mirareris et placeret mulieres olosceris indutas vestibibus clericales cantus canentes post Dei genetricis yconam et quasi famulas sequentes dominam. Et iuxta Psalmistam vocem iuvenes et virgines,

senes cum iunioribus laudent nomen Domini qui pro nobis ex Maria carnem assumpsit. Precedunt vero hanc nobilem Dei genetricis ymaginem alie plurime ex aliis ecclesiis ymagine sancte auree quasi dominam famule. Ipsa autem retro sequitur ceteras sicut omnium earum domina clementi vultu sicut cognoscitur actu. Porro in ecclesia ad quam eo die fit statio celebratur festivitas a populo. Fit ibi concursus popularis et sicut cum honore gloriosa imago est delata ad ecclesiam in qua eo die habuit stationem, sic missa celebrata; omnibusque rite peractis cum magno honore iterum refertur ad suam sedem.

Audivi autem referre quoddam miraculum de eadem sancta ymagine positus in predicta urbe. Dum deferitur beate Dei genetricis supradicta imago per urbem et transit iuxta basilicam Sancti Salvatoris, in cuius introitu idem Ihesus est egregie effigiatus, sponte sua Dei genetrix sancta vertit se ad filium suum velit nolit ille qui portat eam, et matris imago se convertit ad videndum vultum filii volens cernere, volens et honorare filium qui fecit eam reginam angelorum. Hoc quidem ego non vidi quia non consideravi sed ibi manens." From Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," 127.

101. For complete bibliography, see the two recent catalogues *Glory of Byzantium*, 107–9, and *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Plotzek and U. Surmann, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne, October 9, 1992–January 10, 1993 (Stuttgart: Belser, 1992), 132–37. The most thorough analysis of the two manuscripts of the sermons of the monk James of Kokkinobaphos is still that by I. Hutter, *Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus*, 125–38. For the most recent facsimile, see I. Hutter and P. Canart, *Marien-Homilien: Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1162* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 79) (Zurich: Belser, 1991). For the question of patronage of these manuscripts, see J. Anderson, "A Twelfth-Century Leaf from the Byzantine Courtly Circle in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Gesta* 35 (1996): 142–48; idem, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 83–114; idem, "The Illustrated Sermons of Saint James the Monk:

Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art," *Viator* 22 (1991): 69–120.

102. Hutter, *Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus*, 129, provides the same reading of the scene.
103. The same parallels between Christ's life and the life of the individual are drawn in Byzantine prayers. For instance, in prayers for weddings the image of the wedding at Cana is always evoked before blessings are said to a particular couple. *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisei*, ed. A. Dmitrievskii (Kiev: G. T. Korčak'-Novizkago, 1895–1917; rpt. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1965), II, 4–5, 28–31, 41–42, 74.
104. The icon was kept in the sanctuary, while a copy was set for veneration in the naos, as discussed in a late-fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century text; Angelidi, "Un texte patriographique," 147, vv. 230ff. The presence of the panel in the sacred space impelled laypeople to enter the forbidden premises. A twelfth-century order prescribes the following: "Note the present canon and prevent through it in any way laypeople from entering the holy sanctuary. Having striven many times, I was not able to prevent the entrance of laypeople into the holy sanctuary of the church of our exceedingly holy Mistress and Theotokos, Hodegetria, since they say this habit is old and should not be prevented." (Σημείωσαι τὸν παρόντα κανόνα, καὶ κώλυε δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς εἰσερχομένους ὁπωσδήποτε εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὰ σπουδάσας κωλῦσαι τὴν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης μου καὶ Θεοτόκου, τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας, εἰσελεύσιν τῶν λαϊκῶν, οὐκ ἴσχυσα, λεγόντων ἀρχαῖον εἶναι τοῦτο ἔθος, καὶ μὴ ὀφείλειν κωλυθῆναι.) From *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon ton te hagion kai paneuphemon apostolon kai ton hieron oikoumenikon kai topikon synodon kai ton kata meros hagion pateron*, ed. G. Ralles and M. Potles (Athens: G. Chartophylakos, 1852–59), 467.
105. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne has studied the iconography of Mary's Entrance to the Temple, yet she has never discussed the link between these narrative scenes and the Byzantine processional practices. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident* (Mémoires de la classe des beaux-arts,

II) (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964; rpt. 1992), I, 136–67.

106. W. Kemp, "Medieval Pictorial Systems," in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23–24 March 1990*, ed. B. Cassidy (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 121–33, esp. n. 1, with recent bibliography. See also Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike*, no. 119; F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachtband im frühen Mittelalter, von Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Jahresgabe des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft) (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), 69ff.
107. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, I, 137.
108. Hutter has argued for a connection between Mary's *eisodos* and Photios's homily VII. Here Photios urges his listeners to imagine the feast of the Annunciation as a wedding procession. Even though the text does not refer to Mary's presentation, it does show a tendency of the Byzantine public to perceive the events from sacred history through their daily rites. The liturgy for November 21, the day of the *eisodos*, also makes clear references to a wedding ceremony. Hutter, *Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus*, 128, n. 6. For the liturgy for November 21, see *Festal Menaion*, tr. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), 164–99.
109. In the church of Joachim and Anna at Kizil, ninth century, Mary's parents offer her to the high priest Zacharias. Jolivet-Levy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 46–50; M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien* (Recklinghausen: Bongers, 1967), I, 143–44; II, fig. 354; N. Thierry and M. Thierry, "Église de Kizil-Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et Anne," *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et mémoires* 50 (1958): 105–46.
110. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, no. 11; A. Effenberger and H. G. Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), no. 130, pp. 224–25.
111. *Il menologio di Basilio II*, fol. 198; *Glory of Byzantium*, 100–102, with recent bibliography; and

Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, I, 143–44.

112. With small modifications, the same scene is displayed in a number of eleventh-century images in Asia Minor: at Çemil and Sarica kilise in Cappadocia (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Sarica kilise en Cappadoce," *Cahiers archéologiques* 12 (1962): 263–84) and in Grotto V of the Stylos monastery in Latmos (Latros) (Jolivet-Levy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 157–60, with bibliography, and T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* [Königliche Museen zu Berlin, III/1] [Berlin: Reimer, 1913], 208–9).
113. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece, Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), 75.
114. Χορεία γὰρ παρθενικὴ προήγεν εὐτάκτῳ τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ συνημμένη, καὶ τῇ τε κατὰ κόσμον μεταβάσει, καὶ τῷ τῆς ὥρας ἐπανθούντι κάλλει, ἥδὲ τὸ θέαμα παρίστη. Παρθένος δὲ κύκλῳ δορυφορούμενη λαμπαδουχούσαις αὐταῖς ξένην μὲν ὡς περὶ τὴν ὥραν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς εἶχε καταστολήν· τὸ ἀνθηρὸν γὰρ ἐκείνων, τῷ τοῦ εἶδους φαιδροτάτῳ συνέκρουτε· καθάπερ ἡλίου τὴν τῶν ἄστρον ὑπερνικῶντος αὐγὴν, τῷ ἱλαρῷ δὲ τὸ σύννουν αὐτῇ κεκρυμμένον, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπέβαινε μεγαλοφυές. From James of Kokkinobaphos, in PG 127, cols. 612B, C.
115. Maguire, "Abaton and Oikonomia," 95–105.
116. Ἀθιγῆς χώρος τοὺς ὑπεράγνους ὑποδεχέσθω πόδας, καὶ ἀκοινωνήτους διαγωγῇ, τὴν ἀκηλίδωτον διατηρεῖτω περιστερὰν, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ παρασκεύασω σήμερον ὡς δεῖ, καὶ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τὸ πέρας ἐπιθήσω· ἄναψον λαμπάδα φωτὸς, καὶ καταφαίδρυνον τὰς εἰσόδους· ἄρον μετάρσιον πυρρὸν, ὡς σύνθημα, καὶ ἵνουν πρὸς σὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἵνα τὴν φωτεινὴν νεφέλην ἐπόψῃται, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς πηγὴν ἐκ ταύτης βρῶουσιν κατ'ἰδῇ. From James of Kokkinobaphos, in PG 127, col. 608C.
117. The importance of light is also stressed in the liturgy for the feast of the *eisodos*, see *Festal Menaion*, 164–99, esp. 167, 175.
118. *Lenten Triodion*, 524ff.
119. Ibid., 524.
120. *Trésors médiévaux de la République de Macédoine*, 74–75, with bibliography.

121. While Mary's pulchritude is emphasized in the homilies on her *eisodos* (James of Kokkinobaphos, in PG 127, col. 612C), the term *peribleptos* is customarily applied to describe the beauty of women. The emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–34) inappropriately chose to dedicate his funerary foundation to the Virgin *Peribleptos*: Psellos did not fail to comment on this: "It was his [Romanos Argyros's] wish to honor the Theometor of some name of more than ordinary beauty. Unfortunately he failed to notice that the epithet he gave her was in fact more suited to a woman than a saint, if the name 'Peribleptos' does indeed mean 'Celebrated.'" Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.15, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 94; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 74.
122. Joseph Bryennios, *Opera*, in *Ioseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, ed. E. Boulgares and T. Mandakases (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1768–84), II, 405–13. The text is also mentioned in the discussion by Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista*, 120, and Zervou-Tognazzi, "La iconografia e la 'vita' delle miracolose icone della Theotokos Brefokratoussa," 235.
123. *Ioseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, 409.
124. A link between the tabernacle and the three-year-old Virgin brought to the Temple is also established in the liturgy of Mary's *eisodos*; see *Festal Menaion*, 164–99.
125. I Sam. 6; II Sam. 6. The word *στανροειδῶς* refers to the manner in which the Ark of the Covenant was transported.
126. Βαδδίν in the *Souda* is recorded as priestly vestments. See Photios, *Lexicon*, ed. I. F. Schlevsner (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1810). Lampe translates the term as "fine linen," in PGL.
127. II Sam. 6.
128. I Kings 8.
129. I Pet. 2:9.
130. Ps. 44:13. The quotation also appears in the letter of Pope Gregory to Germanos, discussing the Virgin's help offered during the Arabs' siege of Constantinople in A.D. 717. See my analysis of this text in Chapter 2.
2. I return to this weekly *litania* in the last chapter of this book.
3. E. Papaioannou, "The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Image: Psellos and the Icons of Blachernai," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51 (2001): 177–88; B. Pentcheva, "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the 'Usual Miracle' at the Blachernai," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (2000): 34–55; B. Pitarakis, "À propos de la Vierge orante au Christ Enfant (XIe–XIIe siècles): L'émergence d'un culte," *Cahiers archéologiques* 48 (2000): 45–58.
4. Kondakov, *Ikonoграфия Bogomateri*, II, 101–23, and Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios."
5. The Greek word ἐπίσκεψις means "visitation," while σκέπω or σκεπάζω signifies "to protect," and σκέπη "covering," "shelter," "protection." *Episkepsis* relates both to the moment of the Annunciation when the Theotokos receives the visit of the archangel Gabriel and the descent of the Holy Spirit, and to the frequent address to the Virgin as a "shelter" and "protection," as attested in the canons. S. Eustratiades, *He Theotokos en te hymnographia* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1930), 23 (references for the canons). The canons are published in *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades, no. 2, v. 307, p. 11 (by Mauropous, "protection for all"—ἐπίσκεψις παντῶν); no. 37, v. 226, p. 120; and no. 66, v. 191, p. 214 ("protection of the feeble"—ἐπίσκεψις ὀσθενῶν); Kondakov, *Ikonoграфия Bogomateri*, II, 116–17; Hunger, "Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft"; and Belting-Ihm, "*Sub matris tutela*," 42–44, 47–57. See also E. Smirnova, "Novgorodskaja ikona 'Bogomateri Znamenie': Nekotorye voprosy bogorodičnoi ikonografii XII v.," *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo, Balkany, Rus* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 1995), 288–310, esp. 292, n. 43, and Zacos II, no. 788.
6. Zacos II, no. 522 (*Blachernitissa*); Cheynet, *Seyrig*, no. 313 (*Panagiotissa*). A single example of the poetic name λυσιπνοῦς is also attested: *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 1, *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, ed. N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), no. 43.6, p. 113, cited in Pitarakis, "À propos de la Vierge orante au Christ Enfant," 46.

Chapter 5

1. Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople"; Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 50–51.

7. Laurent, *Église*, no. 1785.
8. Hunger, "Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft." The conclusion is based on a dozen thirteenth-century seals. With three exceptions, the eleventh-century examples are nameless.
9. A. Frolov, "Le Znamenie de Novgorod: Évolution de la légende," *Revue des études slaves* 24 (1948): 67–81, and 25 (1949): 45–72; Smirnova, "Novgorodskaja ikona 'Bogomateri Znamenie,'" 288–90.
10. G. Gerov, B. Penkova, and R. Božilov, *Stenopisite na Roženskija manastir* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski hudožnik, 1993), 149; S. Rŭževa, "Stenopisite v narteksa ma hrama 'Sv. Atanasij' v Arbanasi—sjužetnotematični i ikonografski aspekti," *Problemi na izkustvoto* 4 (1998): 20–31.
11. See my discussion in Chapter 3.
12. Grierson, DOC, III/1, 171–74, and III/2, 731–32. The new image type appears on an encaustic icon from Cyprus. It has been dated on the basis of its style and the encaustic technique to the eighth and ninth centuries. A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1992), 6–8, and S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus, 7th–20th Century* (Nicosia: Center of Cultural Heritage, Museum Publications, 1994), 76, 123, fig. 2. Yet this icon should be dated later for the following reasons: painting in hot wax continued to be produced long after the end of Iconoclasm; the presence of the abbreviation MP in the left margin of the panel signals a post-Iconoclast date. The second argument, based on the presence of the inscription, has not been discussed in scholarship to date. For the dating on style and wax medium, see A. W. Carr, review of *Icons of Cyprus*, by Sophocleous, *Speculum* 71/4 (1996): 1024–27; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 282, n. 82. For the origin and significance of the abbreviation MP ΘΥ, see Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother," 170–71.
13. M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 12) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1969), 73–74. The obverse side shows the Virgin orans with the hovering medallion *en buste*, while the reverse displays the bust of the emperor with a crown on his head, a scepter in his left hand, and a *globus cruciger* in his right hand. The inscription reads: Μητηρ θεοῦ Ἀλεξίω δεσπότη τῷ Κομνηνῷ.
14. Ibid., 132, 145.
15. V. Hatz, "Die byzantinischen Einflüsse auf das deutsche Münzwesen des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 12 (1978): 145–62, and B. Kluge, *Deutsche Münzgeschichte von der späten Karolingerzeit bis zum Ende der Salier* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1991), 49, pl. 23, no. 143.
16. Very few examples have been dated to the tenth century. Yet, based on the epigraphy and the high relief, these seals should be redated to the last quarter of the eleventh century.
17. Theodore of Stoudios, *On the Holy Icons*, tr. C. Roth (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Press, 1981), 112. See also Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face."
18. For the relationship between the seal and the Eucharist in the Latin West, see B. Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105/5 (2000): 1489–533. The focus of this article is, however, on the study of sealed charters as an expression of a new medieval identity based on replicable resemblance. For a similar discussion of replicable semblance, see T. Dale, "The Individual, the Resurrected Body, and Romanesque Portraiture: The Tomb of Rudolf von Schwaben in Merseburg," *Speculum* 77/3 (2002): 707–44. For coins as a type of the Eucharist, see D. Lau, "Nummi Dei sumus: Beitrag zur einer historischen Münzmetaphorik," *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik* 93 (1980): 192–228; N. Häring, "St. Augustine's Use of the Word Character," *Medieval Studies* 14 (1952): 79–97; C. Chazelle, "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy," *Traditio* 47 (1992): 1–36.
19. This symbolic relationship between the seal, the Theotokos, and the Incarnation has to date not been explored in Byzantine sigillography. I focus on the new image type of the Virgin; yet my conclusions are relevant for most of the other Marian types imprinted on Byzantine seals. For a similar analogy relating impressions on wax, the Virgin's body at the Incarnation, and the female body developed among fourteenth-century Italian women mystics, see K. Park, "Impressed Images: Reproducing Wonders," in *Picturing*

- Science, Producing Art*, ed. C. A. Jones and P. Galison (New York/London: Routledge, 1998), 254–71.
20. G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, and Weighing* (Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection II) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1980), 24–25.
 21. Eustratiades, *He Theotokos en te hymnographia*, 76; *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades, no. 130, vv. 218ff., no. 132, vv. 56ff.
 22. αὐτὴ μήτηρ γέγονε καὶ παρθένος ἐστὶ· διὰ ταύτης ὁ λόγος εἰσελήλυθ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐξελήλυθε καὶ κλειθρα τῆς παρθενίας οὐκ ἔλυσεν, ἀλλὰ μεμένηκεν ἀδιαλώβητος ἢ σφραγίς. From Psellos, *Λόγος εἰς τὸν Χαιρετισμὸν*, in *Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. E. Fisher (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana) (Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner, 1994), 95–113, esp. 105, vv. 166–69.
 23. The same metaphor is also expressed in an icon of the Virgin and Child from the twelfth century at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. In it the Virgin and Child hold a sealed scroll; the latter alludes to the body of Christ and the Immaculate Conception. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 290–91.
 24. Laurent, *Église*, no. 1229: Μήτηρ Λόγου, κλεῖς τῶν λόγων πρώτου Γάνου.
 25. Cheynet, *Seyrig*, no. 65: Σκέποις με Μήτηρ τοῦ Θεανθρώπου Λόγου Χετοῦμ σεβαστὸν γόνον τὸν τοῦ Ὁσίνη.
 26. Zacos II, no. 565: Ἐμμανουὴλ τεκοῦσα, Μανουὴλ σκέποις.
 27. PG 100, col. 1424.
 28. Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face"; G. Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, 153–79. The process of rendering metaphors in images in the Latin West is also discussed by J. Hamburger, "Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotion," *Viator* 20 (1989): 161–82, esp. 170–71, 173, 181. For a further discussion of the relationship between text and image, and more specifically how metaphors stimulate the viewer to recall a series of standard images, see G. Pinney, "Figures of Speech: The Picture of *Aidos*," *Metis* (1990): 185–200; eadem, "Figures in the Text: Metaphors and Riddles in the *Agamemnon*," *Classical Philology* 92/1 (1997): 1–45.
 29. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence*, and Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 261–96.
 30. For discussion of a similar interpretation of *empsychos*, see Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 33, 66, 159.
 31. The way Zoe's *Antiphonites* acted resembles the way mood rings function. The stone of these rings changes its color in response to variations in the body temperature of the wearer.
 32. *Empnous*, coming from the word for spirit, *pneuma*, again captures the meaning of "inspired" and "inhabited by the Spirit."
 33. Psellos, *Chronographia*, VI.66, in *Imperatorii di Bisanzio*, ed., Impellizzeri, I, 312–13; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 188.
 34. C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen: B. L. Bogtrykkeri, 1959), 142–48. The *Antiphonites* appears on a coin of Empress Zoe in 1042 (fig. 6). See Grierson, *DOC*, III/2, 726–27. Other examples include the following: a mosaic icon of Christ *Antiphonites* in the church of the Koimesis in Nikaia from 1065, and one in the church of the Virgin Arakiotissa at Lagoudera from 1192. These copies invoked the miraculous prototype through the name inscribed next to the image. T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia: Das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken* (Berlin/Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1927), 46–47, pl. 27; C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 245–52; Nicolaïdes, "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera," 105. We also know of an icon of the *Antiphonites* owned by the empress Irene, wife of Alexios I Komnenos. She mentioned this icon in the list of precious objects included in the foundation document, or typikon, of her monastery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene; see P. Gautier, ed., "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômenè," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 5–165, esp. 153.
 35. For Neoplatonism in Psellos's description of the Blachernai miracle, see Papaioannou, "The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Image."

36. ἡ μορφή τῆς θεόπαιδος, οἶμαι, δεχομένη τὴν ἔμψυχον ἐπιδημίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῷ φαινομένῳ ἐπισημαίνουσα. From Psellos, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. Fisher, 199–229, esp. 205–6, vv. 137–39, and V. Grumel, ed., "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," *Échos d'Orient* 30 (1931): 129–46, esp. 137.
37. Ὡς περ οἱ ἐρωτικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσει καλῶν ὁδῶ προϊόντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν καταντῶσι τὴν μίαν τῶν καλῶν πάντων καὶ νοητῶν ἀρχὴν, οὕτως καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς φαινομένοις ἅπασι συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κατανοήσαντες, τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἱερατικὴν συνεστήσαντο, θαυμάσαντες τῷ βλέπειν ἐν τε τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχατοῖς τὰ πρώτιστα, ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τὰ χθόνια κατ' αἰτίαν καὶ οὐρανῶς, ἐν τε γῇ τὰ οὐράνια γηίνως. From *De providentia*, in *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, ed. J. Bidez et al. (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1928), VI, 148, vv. 1–10.
38. For a further discussion of the Neoplatonic concept of spiritual seeing, see the almost contemporary fifth-century text by Saint Augustine, which became very influential in the Latin West, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, tr. J. H. Taylor, S.J. (Ancient Christian Writers, 42) (New York: Newman Press, 1982), 178–231.
39. Another similar example of *empsychos graphe* is offered by a set of seals that display the Virgin flanked by two tongues of fire. The latter are intended to convey the presence of the Holy Spirit within the image. J. Cotsonis, "The Virgin with the Tongues of Fire on Byzantine Lead Seals," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994): 221–27, esp. 225–27.
40. Analogously, Western spirituality placed an importance on matter. As a result of this "somatized spirituality," Gothic naturalism emerged. P. Binski, "The Angel Choir at Lincoln and the Poetics of the Gothic Smile," *Art History* 20/3 (1997): 350–74, and J. Hamburger, "Speculations on Speculation: Vision and Perception in the Theory and Practice of Mystical Devotion," in *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang: Neue erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte: Kolloquium, Kloster Fischingen 1998*, ed. W. Haug and W. Schneider-Lastin (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 353–408.
41. A. W. Carr, "Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons," in *Byzantine East, Latin West*, 579–84. See also J. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 24) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), 192–99.
42. Leo of Chalcedon, *Letterae*, ed. A. Lavriotes, "Ιστορικὸν ζήτημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ," *Ekklesiastike aletheia* 20 (1990): 403–7, 411–16, 445–47, 455–56, esp. 414–15; Carr, "Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons," 580–82.
43. Wolf, "From Mandylion to Veronica," 166, where he wrote: "The 'graphe empsychos' is a 'carnal logos' in so far as it 'speaks' by means of bodies."
44. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkommenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem*, ed. G. von der Osten and G. Kauffmann (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1965), 299–312; Maguire, *Art and Eloquence*, 48–52; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 272–78; and Carr, in *Glory of Byzantium*, 374–75, with bibliography. For the Novgorod icon, see *Gosudarstvennaja Tretjakovskaja Galereja: Katalog sobranija, Drevnorusskoe iskusstvo X–nachala XV veka* (Moscow: Krasnaja Ploščad, 1995), I, 47–50.
45. See note 20 to Chapter 4.
46. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 278.
47. Heb. 10:19–20; Constan, *Proclus of Constantinople*, 328–29.
48. M.-J. Mondzain, *Image, icône, économie: Les sources byzantines de l'imaginaire contemporain* (Paris: Édition de Seuil, 1996).
49. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes." See also Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II, 57–59, 117. For a discussion of the Friday services at the Blachernai church and the way the "usual miracle" was fitted into the program, see Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," esp. 51–53. On the veils of icons, see V. Nunn, "The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantine Modern Greek Studies* 10 (1986): 73–102.
50. C. Mango, "The Chalkoprateia Annunciation and the Pre-eternal Logos," *Deltion tes christianikes archaiologikes hetaireias* 17/4 (1993–94): 165–70, esp. 168. Mango argued that only one

icon was discovered, a fresco. By contrast, the text explicitly states that two icons were discovered on that particular occasion. The first panel is not described, while the second is. I would like to thank Brigitte Pitarakis for sharing this discovery with me. Moreover, Mango's claim that the icon was a fresco is untenable because the word *hylographike* clearly indicates that the icon was a wood-panel painting. For the use of both *hylographia* and *sanidion* to signify a wood panel, see the evidence from the following typika: Theotokos Eleousa, ed. L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre dame de Pitié," *Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole* 6 (1900): 1–153, esp. 118–20; Theotokos Kecharitomene, ed. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômenè," *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 5–165, esp. 153; Christ Panoiktirmon, ed. P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaliatè," *Revue des études byzantines* 39 (1981): 5–143, esp. 89, 91; and P. Lemerle, "Le testament d'Eustratios Boilas (avril 1059)," in *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Le monde byzantin) (Paris: Édition du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977), 15–63, esp. 24.

51. Papaioannou, "The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Image," 180, n. 15.
52. Μέλλων δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπιποιεῖσθαι τῶν Βλαχερνῶν εὔρε κεκραμένην εἰκόνα παλαιάν, ἣν ἀνακαινισθῆναι προσέταξεν. ἐξηργυρωμένον δὲ τὸ χρίσμα τοῦ τοίχου ἰδὼν καθαιρεθῆναι προσέταξε καὶ νέον γενέσθαι· καθαιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ χρίσματος εὐρέθη εἰκὼν ὑλογραφικὴ, σανίδιον ἐπιστήθιον κρατούσης τῆς θεοτόκου τὸν κύριον καὶ θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἀμόλυντος διαμείνασα ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου ἕως τῆςδε τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐτῶν διελθόντων τριακοσίων. From Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 384, vv. 21–30 (Emperor Romanos III Argyros, sect. 8).
53. Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios," and Schulz, "Die Nicopea in San Marco," 495–500. Similar interpretation is also offered by Belting-Ihm, "Sub matris tutela," 51–52.
54. Papaioannou, "The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Image," 187–88.
55. The miracle was expected every Friday but did not always take place; its unpredictability only heightened the expectations of the crowds; see

Psellos, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. Fisher, 204, vv. 103–11. Anna Komnene, who wrote in the twelfth century, also mentioned the Blachernai miracle. Yet she did not describe either the icon or the miracle, but just recorded what happened when her father, the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, went to witness the supernatural event in November 1107. Alexios wanted to visit the church before he left for a military campaign against Bohemont. On that particular Friday the "usual miracle" did not take place. Alexios therefore returned the following week; this time he was able to see the miracle and leave assured for his expedition. Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, XIII.1, in *Anne Komnene Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, I, 384; English tr. in *The Alexiad of Anna Komnena*, tr. Sewter, 395.

56. καὶ εἴσοδος τοῖς ἐφεστηκόσι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ δέδοται, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰσάσι φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ συμμειγείς, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὴν εἰκόνα πέπλος ἀθρόον μετεωρίζεται ὥσπερ τινὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκινήσαντος πνεύματος, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς μὲν μὴ ἰδοῦσι ἄπιστον, τοῖς δὲ ἰδοῦσι παράδοξον καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἄντικρυς κάθοδος. Συνεξαλλάσσεται δὲ τῷ τελουμένῳ καὶ ἡ μορφή τῆς θεόπαιδος, οἶμαι, δεχομένη τὴν ἔμψυχον ἐπιδημίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῷ φαινόμενῳ ἐπισημαίνουσα. Τῷ μὲν οὖν νύκτῃ αὐτῆς καὶ Θεῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀπηρωρημένῳ ῥήγνυται τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ καταπέτασμα, ἵν' ἡ τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην τοῖς τύποις ἐμφήνῃ ἀλήθειαν, ἥ ἔνδον τῶν ἀδύτων τοὺς πιστεύσαντας προσκαλέσῃται καὶ ἀνέλῃ τὸ διατεῖχισμα τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἡμῶν οικειώσεως· τῇ δὲ γε θεομήτορι ὁ ἱερὸς πέπλος ἀπορρήτως ἐξαίρεται, ἵν' ἔνδον ἑαυτῆς τὸ εἶσιον πλήθος κατακολλήσῃται ὥσπερ ἐν καινῷ τινὶ ἀδύτῳ καὶ ἀσύλῳ καταφυγῇ. Psellos, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. Fisher, 204–5, vv. 131–46, and Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," 137.
57. Similar miraculous transformations are offered by the icons that bled or cried; see Frolow, "Le Znamenie de Novgorod," 25 (1949): 45–72.
58. Papaioannou, "The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Image," 188.
59. The Latin pilgrim is implying that the Byzantines did not summon the congregation with the sound of bells.
60. "Iuxta hanc basilicam est alia parva ecclesia rotunda et ipsa marmorea ita utrique ad invicem

sic coniuncte ut de una mox transeas in aliam. In hac parva est Dei genetricis sancta et venerabilis ycona aurea, gestantis filium quem benedicta genuit. De hac sancta ycona omni septimana gloriosum fit miraculum. Et quum varie a multis narratur, ego sicut oculis illud vidi non semel sed vicibus multis, per veritatem referre curabo nichil apponens falsitatis in aliquo. Hec sancta ymago Dei genetricis a cingulo deorsum est coperta pallio ex utraque parte ymaginis affixo duobus clavis. Videtur itaque medietas sancte imaginis a cingulo sursum, videlicet pectus et capud. Porro alia medietas occultatur a cingulo deorsum ut diximus pallio coperta serico. Feria vero .vi. circa solis occubitum fit ad supradictam ecclesiam populi concursus quam plurimus virorum ac mulierum, clericorum quoque et sacerdotum. Et sicut sabbato sancto Pasche in sanctam civitatem Iherusalem expectant et desiderant qui ibi adsunt ignem de supernis advenientem cernere, sic plebs Constantinopolitana die predicto astat ante sanctam ymaginem expectans et desiderans more solito pallium elevare virtute Dei. Appropinquante denique hora qua divina debent fieri miracula, percutitur tabula lignea ad vocandum in ecclesiam populum, quia Greci aliud non habent signum ad huiusmodi officium. Non quod desit eis [a]es aut metallum ad facienda signa more Latinorum, sed illud agunt, ut dicunt, ad exemplum apostolorum qui ob metu paganorum clam ad hostium domus Christianorum ligneam percuciebant tabulam ut hoc signo properarent ad ecclesiam. Convenientes ergo omnes in ecclesiam ante sanctam Dei genetricis ymaginem clerici cantando laici orando, Dei omnipotentis invocant devote magnalia ut consueta dignetur operari miracula. Cerneret ibi sexus utriusque tantam numerositatem, sentiret ibi populi tantam compressionem ut, si media hyeme ibi nudus adesses, vix calorem ferre prevaleres. Audires quoque dulcisonas vocum modulationes Dei genetricis gloriam concrepantes. Sacerdos insuper, indutus ut ad missam, sepiissime circuit altare et sanctam ymaginem cum turribulo aureo thimiamate pleno. Quid multa. Dum cantat clerus et orat populus, pallium quo medietas ymaginis sancte et coperta Dei virtute sursum elevatur, demonstrans quam pius celaverat imaginis

medietatem." From *Descriptio II*, ed. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Taragonensis 55," 121–22.

A number of other foreign sources exist: two Latin accounts and two Russian. The first Latin source, *Liber Virginalis*, written in the thirteenth century, reads: "Greco more hic decore virginis ychonia. Natum gestat, sindone stat et velata serica. Nec videtur donec detur sabbato vigilia. At cum hora vespertina matris festa incipit. Se expansum et repansum velum sursum recipit. Atque vultum venerandum virginis deoperit. Tunc thesaurus diva clarus revelatur virgine. Sic ad nonam usque horam stat crastine. Sursum velum quasi celum spectans miro ordine. Non libratum arte vatum nec arte mechanica." From Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," 130–31; see also Kondakov, *Ikongrafija Bogomateri*, II, 57–59, 117. The second Latin source appears in three manuscripts, two dating to the eleventh century and the third to the twelfth century. The text reads as follows: "Tbi [Blachernae] ut mos est in grecis habetur ipsius reginae ycona, gestans in gremio illum suum nobilem iesum primogenitum infantem. Haec imago praevecundae virginis reverentia velatur sindone oloserica, nec audet quisquam civium divae virginis respicere vultum, donec veniatur ad sextam feriam, crucis mysterio purpuratam. Tunc sole iam ad occasum vergente, quando vespertina sinaxis mariae sollennia incipit, tunc inquam expansum velum invisibili machina divina repansum, ostendit civibus caelestem thesaurum. Quod velum sursum arte divina libratum, sic immobile perseverat per omnes illius noctis vigiliis et singulas sabbati horas." From Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," 134–35. The two Russian accounts unfortunately do not offer extended descriptions. They just mention that the Holy Spirit descended in the Blachernai church on Fridays; see Kondakov, *Ikongrafija Bogomateri*, II, 59; Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," esp. 141; and Antony of Novgorod, *Kniga Palomnik: Skazanie mest Svetih vo Čarigrade Antonija Archiepiskopa Novgorodskago v 1200 godu*, ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1899), 21, 59, 82.

61. LP, II, 17, vv. 21–22 and 25; 79, v. 10; 96, v. 33.
62. Reconstructing the veil as placed on top of the icon also explains the preposition *peri*, meaning “about,” used by Psellos to describe the position of the silk cloth. For further discussion of icon veils, also known as *encheiria*, see Nunn, “The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon,” esp. 83, 87 (on the Blachernai miracle).
63. Psellos also says that the covering was decorated with images; Psellos, *Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. Fisher, 204. For the cloth coverings of icons, see Nunn, “The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon,” 73–102. For a general introduction to the subject of clothing of cult images, see R. Trexler, “Habiller et déshabiller les images: esquisse d’une analyse,” in *L’image et la production de sacré: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 20–21 janvier 1988*, ed. F. Dunand, J.-M. Spieser, and J. Wirth (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1991), 195–231.
64. In Byzantium there is a long tradition of *automata*, or devices powered by compressed air from bellows or by water, such as the “throne of Solomon,” which could be lifted high in the air, and mechanical singing birds. See R. Hammerstein, *Macht und Klang: Tönende Automaten als Realität und Fiktion in der alten und mittelalterlichen Welt* (Bern: Francke, 1986), 43–58, and G. Brett, “The Automata in the Byzantine Throne of Solomon,” *Speculum* 29/3 (1954): 477–87.
65. I have revised my previous reconstruction of the miracle in Pentcheva, “Rhetorical Images of the Virgin.”
66. Papaioannou, “The ‘Usual Miracle’ and an Unusual Image.”
67. See note 20 to Chapter 4.
68. P. Agapitos, “Teachers, Pupils, and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium,” in *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, ed. Y. Lee Too and N. Livingstone (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 170–91.

Chapter 6

1. Psellos’s writings offer the best primary source for the period. Psellos, *Chronographia*, in *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter. See also M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: a Political History* (London/New York: Longman,

- 1984; rpt. 1997); P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
2. E. Congdon, “Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator,” *Revue des études byzantines* 54 (1996): 161–99.
3. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul*, 209–15. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin*, pt. 1, vol. III, 529–38, and Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 179–214, esp. 200ff. P. Gautier, ed., “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974): 1–145; English tr. in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 725–81.
4. For ἡρώδων, see LSJ.
5. The wife of the emperor, Eirene, and their first-born son, Alexios, were also commemorated during the services.
6. For instance, Romanos III Argyros built the monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos; Constantine IX Monomachos, the monastery of St. George of Mangana; Psellos, *Chronographia*, III.14–17, VI.185–88, in *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. Impellizzeri, I, 88–97, and II, 132–37; English tr. in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, tr. Sewter, 71–75 and 250–52. Alexios, the father of John II Komnenos, built the Orphanotropheion, discussed in Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, xv.7.4–7, in *Anne Komnene Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, 482–85; English tr. in *The Alexiad of Anna Komnena*, tr. Sewter, 492–96.
7. See the typika of aristocratic monasteries published in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, nos. 27–28 (monasteries of the Theotokos Kecharitomene and Christ Pantokrator).
8. R. Ousterhout, “Architecture, Art, and Komnenian Ideology at the Pantokrator Monastery,” in *Byzantine Constantinople*, 132–50, esp. 144.
9. Congdon, “Imperial Commemoration and Ritual.”
10. Hutter, *Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus*, 126–27.
11. περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸν ὁρμῆς τῆς Παρθένου εὐαγγέλια τοῖς ἐν Ἀδου.
12. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Mone*, I, 133–39; II, figs. 48–57, 180–89; and Maguire, “The Mosaics of Nea Moni.”
13. Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” 51–54; Kedrenos, *Historiarum compendium*, Bonn ed., I, 694, vv. 21–23.

14. Ševčenko has demonstrated that *signon* means a processional icon. Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” 46 n. 7. The term is inaccurately translated by R. Jordan in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 753–55.
15. The “holy *soros*” refers to the Chalkoprateia, the ultimate goal of the Friday procession. Once they left the Pantokrator, the people and the icons headed toward the Chalkoprateia. M. Butyrskij has made the same observation, “Vizantijskoe bogosluženie u ikony soglasno tipiku monastyrja Pantokratora 1136 goda,” in *Čudotvornaja ikona*, 145–58, esp. 156.
16. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 754–55.
17. *Ibid.*, 753–54.
18. Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” 51. Grabar and Pätzold argued that the Friday processions were represented on the fourteenth-century frescoes in the Markov manastir. Grabar, “L’Hodigitria et l’Eléousa,” 8–9; idem, “Une source d’inspiration de l’iconographie byzantine tardive: Les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 25 (1976): 146–47; Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*. I argue, instead, that these miniatures reveal a ceremony performed by the Serbian court and modeled after the Byzantine imperial memorial service performed at the Blachernai on the Monday following the Akathistos.
19. Butyrskij, on the other hand, argues that the *signon tes presbeias* was the processional icon of the Eleousa church; Butyrskij, “Vizantijskoe bogosluženie u ikony,” 147.
20. *Bogomater’ Vladimirskaja k 600 letiju Sretenja ikonu Bogomateri Vladimirskoi v Moskve 26 avgusta (8 sentjabrja)*, 1395: *Sbornik materialov, katalog vystavki* (Moscow: State Tretjakov Gallery, Avangard, 1995); K. Mijatev, “Kum ikonografijata na Bogorodica Umilenie,” *Bulletin de l’Institut archéologique bulgare* 3 (1925): 165–93; M. Alpatoff and V. Lazarev, “Ein byzantinisches Tafelwerk aus der Komnenenepoche,” *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925): 140–55.
21. N. Trahoulia, “The Truth in Painting: A Refutation of Heresy in a Sinai Icon,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 52 (2001): 271–85.
22. Sotiriou and Sotiriou, *Eikones tes mones Sina*, 125–28, figs. 146–49; Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent*, no. 9, fig. 18; M. Panayiotidi, “He eikona

- tes Panagias glykophilousas sto monasteri tou Petritzou (Bačkovu) ste Boulgaria,” in *Euphrosynon: Aphieroma ston Manole Chatzedake*, ed. E. Kypraiou (Demosieumata tou Archaialogikou deltiou, 46) (Athens: Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 1991–92), II, 459–68.
23. The same iconography appears on the processional icon depicted in the Akathistos cycle at Markov manastir in Macedonia (1380s). Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*, 15–16, figs. 112–14.
24. I do not accept O. Etingof’s identification of this image type with the icon of the “usual miracle” at the Blachernai. Etingof, “K rannei istorii ikony Vladimirskaia Bogomater’ i tradicii vlahernskogo bogorodičnogo kul’ta na Rusi v XI–XIII vv,” in *Obraz Bogomateri* (Moscow: Progress Tradizija, 2000), 127–56, esp. 131–32.
25. While many court officials and rich people founded their own monasteries in order to obtain place for their souls in paradise, none could dream of imposing a detour on an urban procession, demanding that it pass through a private foundation and intercede on the behalf of the founder of the monastic establishment. For the typika of these foundations, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, I–III.
26. For a detailed study of the use of lights, see Congdon, “Imperial Commemoration and Ritual,” 169–81.
27. A similar conclusion is reached by Butyrskij, “Vizantijskoe bogosluženie u ikony,” 150.
28. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” 74–75; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 754.
29. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 756.
30. N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), no. 148, pp. 138–39, and N. Drandakes, *Byzantines toichographies tes Mesa Manes* (Bibliothèque des en Athenais archaialogikes hetaireias, 141) (Athens: He en Athenais archaialogike hetaireia, 1995), 238.
31. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, III.27, ed. Preger, II, 223. See also my discussion in Chapter 4.
32. Another example of a name that is both toponymic and poetic is Kyriotissa, meaning both “from the monastery ta Kyrou,” and “mistress.” The name is associated with the image type of the standing

- Virgin supporting the Child in front of her chest. Laurent, *Église*, no. 1156 (seal of the monastery ta Kyrou, eleventh century); Laurent, *Adm. centr.*, nos. 209 (Romanos Argyropoulos, eleventh century), 1028 (Epiphanius Kamateros, twelfth century); Lihačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie italo-grečeskoj ikonopisi*, pl. IV, no. 19; SPINK, Auction 127, *Byzantine Seals from the Collection of George Zacos*, pt. 1, London, Wednesday, October 7, 1998, no. 89 (Michael Algazes, twelfth–thirteenth century). For the ta Kyrou monastery, see Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. 1, vol. III, 303–4. For the identification of the ta Kyrou with the Kalenderhane Djami, and the images of the Virgin in the side apse and the tympanum of the narthex, see *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration: Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii, 1966–1978*, ed. C. Striker and D. Kuban (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1997), 7–17, 124–26, 142–43. The name Kyriotissa has also been interpreted as a poetic epithet referring to the universal power of the Virgin. M. Tatić-Djurić, “Licône de Kyriotissa,” *Actes des xve Congrès international des études byzantines* (Athens: Comité d’organisation du congrès, 1976), II/B, 759–86.
33. Eustratiades, *He Theotokos en te hymnographia*, 51.
34. *Theotokion*: a hymn dedicated to the Virgin, sang as the last in a series of hymns at the end of the Byzantine office; see BDEC, 489.
35. Ὁδὸν ἢ κυήσασα τῆς σωτηρίας
ὁδὸν εἰς εὐθειάν με,
Παρθένε, καθοδήγησον
καὶ ἱθύνον δέομαι
τάς τῆς ψυχῆς μου ὁδοὺς
καὶ τὰ διαβήματα αὐτῆς
πρὸς μετανοίας ὁδὸν κατεύθυνον,
From *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades,
no. 41, vv. 193–99, p. 133
This canon is attributed to John of Euchaita.
36. Νύξ με καλύπτει δεινὴ
τῶν πονηρῶν μου καὶ κακῶν πράξεων
ἀλλ’ ἐκβοῶ πρὸς φῶς με τὸ θεῖον
ὁδήγησον τοῦ σοῦ
υἱοῦ καὶ Δεσπότητος
ὁλόφωτε Δέσποινα,
From *ibid.*, no. 51, vv. 79–84, p. 170
37. *Descriptio II*, ed. Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55,” 127. On the Chalke, see Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, pt. 1, vol. III, 544–45; Mango, *The Brazen House*. This entrance, which was facing the south façade of Hagia Sophia, led to the precincts of the palace.
38. See the *theotokia* in *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades, and *Euchologion*, ed. Goar.
39. Carr explores the appearance of named Marian images as an expression of “personally accessible sanctity” in the eleventh century without making the connection to processions; see Carr, “Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons,” 583.
40. Angelidi, “Un texte patriographique,” 141, and my discussion in Chapter 4.
41. Grabar argued that the icon depicted in the Markov manastir frescoes was the *Eleousa* of the Pantokrator monastery. Grabar, “L’Hodigitria et l’Eléousa,” 8–9. I do not agree with this interpretation, because the frescoes depict the Monday ritual following the Akathistos ceremony in the Palaiologan period, not the memorial rites at the Pantokrator.
42. Grabar, “L’Hodigitria et l’Eléousa”; *idem*, “Les images de la Vierge de tendresse”; *idem*, “Remarques sur l’iconographie byzantine de la Vierge”; Tatić-Djurić, “Eléousa: À la recherche du type iconographique”; N. Thierry, “La Vierge de tendresse à l’époque macédonienne,” *Zograf* 10 (1979): 59–70.
43. O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1903), 31–25; Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, 44–47, pl. 26; Mango, “The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea.”
44. Nicolaïdes, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera,” 107–9.
45. E. J. W. Hawkins and C. Mango, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 119–206, esp. 161–62, 201–2; Sophocleos, *Icons of Cyprus*, 82–83, 137–39, with bibliography.
46. *Pronoia*, also referred to as *charistike*, was usually given for the duration of the lifetime of the *pronoetos* or for several generations. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, 157–59.

47. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, 15–63, esp. 23, vv. 103–8, and S. Vryonis, “The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathios Boilas,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 11 (1967): 263–77, esp. 267, where Boilas stipulates the burial arrangements for himself and his family.
48. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, 113–91; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 507–63, esp. 519, 544–46; E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostniza* (Sofia: Bŭlgarski hudožnik, 1977). Unlike Bakalova and the translator of the typikon published recently in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, I am hesitant to accept the theory that the ossuary was built to house the remains of Gregory and his brother. The ossuary was intended for the monks. At least Gregory Pakourianos was buried in the katholikon; this is clear in the discussion of the lighting of the church. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, II, 519.
49. Mango, “The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea.”
50. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa*, 8, 30–31, 181–86.
51. *Ibid.*, 183–85. His conclusion was based on the earlier account of Murav’ev’s; see A. N. Murav’ev, *Pis’mo s’ Vostoka, b’ 1849–1850 godah* (St. Petersburg: Kanzeljarii, 1851), 1, 98.
52. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa*, 183–85.
53. Nicolaïdes, “L’église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudera,” esp. 5–8.
54. Hawkins and Mango, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos,” esp. 160–61, 197–98.
55. Παναγία Θεοτόκε, τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς μου· μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με, ἀνθρωπίνῃ προστασίᾳ, μὴ καταπιστεύῃς ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ ἀντιλαβοῦ, καὶ ἐλέησόν με. From *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 426. For an overview of the study of the Byzantine *Euchologion*, see S. Parenti, *L’eucologio slavo del Sinai nella storia dell’eucologio bizantino* (Filologia slava, 2) (Rome: Dipartimento di studi slavi, Università di Roma “La Sapienza,” 1997), 10–11. The prayers come from the manuscript Grottaferrata, Gr. GB I, dated to the period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The text itself records the character of an *euchologion* from before the early eleventh century; see *L’eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, ed. Arranz.
56. Μακαρίζομεν πάντες σὲ Παμμακάριστε, τὴν τὸν λόγον τὸν ὄντως ὄντα μακάριον σάρκα δι’ ἡμᾶς γεγονόντα γεννήσασα. From *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 428.
57. εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν βοήθειαν, Θεοτόκε, ἀνάστηθι, πρόσχεῃς τῇ δεήσει τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ ῥύσαι με δεινῆς κατακρίσεως, τῆς χαλεπῆς ἐτάσεως, σκότους καὶ πυρὸς, καὶ τοῦ βρυγμοῦ τῶν ὁδόντων, δαιμόνων ἐπιρρείας ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνάγκης, ἐλπίς ἀπελπισμένων, ζωὴ ἀπεγνωσμένων. From *ibid.*, 477. *Elpis ton apelpismenon* also appears in *Theotokarion*, ed. Eustratiades, no. 50, v. 139, p. 168.
58. There are at least four different iconographic types associated with the poetic term *elpis ton apelpismenon*: the standing Virgin holding the Child in front of her chest, eleventh century (Lihačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie italo-grečeskoj ikonopisi*, pl. IV, no. 17); the Virgin seated on a high-back throne, holding the Child on the her lap, on a twelfth-century seal of Nikolaos Phrangopoulos (*ibid.*, fig. 228, p. 102); the Virgin holding the Child in her right hand, Christ embracing his mother by the neck, fourteenth century, before A.D. 1390, at Vatopedi (Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent*, no. 33, pl. XLI, fig. 69); the Virgin with her body turned to the right and hands raised in intercession, on a reveted icon in Freising (*Rom und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen*, ed. R. Baumstark and R. Kahsnitz [Munich: Hirmer, 1998], no. 84, p. 245).
59. *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 422–78.
60. ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, δεόμεθά σου ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον. *Ibid.*, 424, and with variations of the same request: 430, 442, 445, 446, 447, 448, 471, 473.
61. A twelfth-century icon of Christ named *Eleemon* is kept at the Berlin Museum. Effenberger and Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und byzantinische Kunst*, no. 144, pp. 242–43.
62. See the excerpts from the Pantokrator typikon quoted earlier.
63. For the study of the role of icons in commemorative services, see B. Pentcheva, “Imagined Images in a Fourteenth-Century Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2000): 139–53.
64. C. Havice, “The Marginal Miniatures in the Hamilton Psalter (Kupferstichkabinett 78. A. 9),” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 (1984): 79–142,

- and *Mother of God*, no. 54, pp. 388–89, with recent bibliography.
65. D. Mouriki, "The Iconography of the Mosaics," in H. Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos, Fethiye Camii, at Istanbul* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 15) (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), 43–74, esp. 56.
 66. The qualitative names appear in the funerary prayers; see *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 725–85.
 67. Τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ οὐρανῶν καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ ἑμᾶντοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν, παρὰ Χριστῷ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν αἰτησώμεθα. *Ibid.*, 424.
 68. Ἀνάπαυσον ὁ Θεὸς τὸν δοῦλόν σου, καὶ κατάταξον αὐτὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ ὅπου χόροι τῶν ἁγίων Κύριε. From *ibid.*, 425.
 69. ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ εὖσπλαγχνος, ὁ ἔχων ἀκατάληπτον ἀγαθότητος πέλαγος, καὶ γινώσκων τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἦν ἐδημιούργησας· σὲ ἱκετεύομεν Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, τὸν μεταστάντα ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀνάπαυσον, ἔνθα πάντων ἐστὶν εὐφραινομένων ἡ κατοικία ἐν σοί, δοξάζειν σου τὸν Θεότητα. From *ibid.*, 441.
 70. ἀνάπαυσον Χριστέ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου. *Ibid.*, 446. See the similar address as merciful and philanthropic in *ibid.*, 443.
 71. Παντοκράτωρ Κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ἀνάπαυσον ἐν σκηναῖς τῶν δικαίων ὅπου τὸ φῶς σου καταλάμπει πᾶσι τῆς ἀξίους, μόνε πολυέλεε. *Ibid.*, 446.
 72. ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός, ὁ καλέσας με, παραμυθία γένου νῦν τῷ οἰκῷ μου. *Ibid.*, 476.
 73. ἐξ ἄδου καλέσας τὸν Λάζαρον, οὕτω καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐκ τοῦ ἄδου ἐγειρον, φιλάνθρωπε. From *ibid.*, 447.
 74. The literature of the eighth and ninth centuries promoted the concept of special powers of the Virgin issuing from her maternal authority: Andrew of Crete, PG 97, col. 1107; Germanos, PG 98, cols. 308C, 320B, 352A, 380D; Theodore of Studios, PG 99, col. 1528C; Nikephoros, PG 100, col. 341C. See also S. der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960): 69–86, esp. 75, n. 25. This emotional relationship is first expressed by address to the Virgin as "Mother of God," Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, rather than just the "Bearer of God," Θεοτόκος. Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother," 165–72.
 75. Χαίρε σεμνὴ ἡ Θεὸν σαρκὶ τεκοῦσα εἰς πάντων σωτηρίαν· τὸ γὰρ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐρατο τὴν σωτηρίαν, διὰ σου εὐροίμεν παράδεισον, Θεοτόκε ἄγνη, εὐλογημένη. From *Euchologion*, ed. Goar, 425.
 76. Διὰ σου δὲ παρθένε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐκ γῆς ἀνυψώθημεν, τὴν φθορὰν τοῦ θανάτου ἐκτινάξαντες. From *ibid.*, 427.
 77. διὰ σου γὰρ ἄφεις δεδώρηται τοῖς δεδικαιωμένοις διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σωματωθέντος ἐκ τῆς σῆς γαστρὸς πανάμωμε. From *ibid.*, 428.
 78. Σώζε τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας εἰς σέ, μήτηρ τοῦ ἀδύτου ἡλίου θεογεννήτρια. αἰτησαι πρεσβείαις σου τὸν ὑπεράγαθον, ἀναπαύσαι τὸν μεταστάντα. From *ibid.*, 432, 446.
 79. Θεὸν γὰρ γεγέννηκας σεσωματωμένον ἀπερινοήτως, τὸν λυτρώσαντα ἡμᾶς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τοῖς παραπτώμασι. From *ibid.*, 442.
 80. ὡς συλλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄναρχον Λόγον Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸν μητρικῇ παρῶσσίᾳ σου ἐκτενῶς ἱκέτευε κατατάξαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἔνθα χορεῖα ἡ ἀκατάλυτος. From *ibid.*, 444.
 81. τὸ ὄμμα τῆς καρδίας διαπαντὸς ἀτενίζω πρὸς σέ τὴν μητρικὴν ἔχουσαν πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ σου. From *ibid.*, 477.
 82. S. Sophocleos, *Le patrimoine des icônes dans le diocèse de Limassol, Chypre, 12e–16e siècle* (Ph.D. diss., Strasbourg, Limassol, 1990), I, 154–57; II, 116–17; III, pls. 71, 72.
 83. Sophocleos has stated that the plaque is "ancient," but he has not given it a precise date. *Ibid.*, I, 157.
 84. Carr offers a similar conclusion, yet she does not present John II Komnenos as the perpetrator; Carr, "Court Culture and Cult Icons," 98–99.
 85. W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Capella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 50.
 86. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Verpeaux, 230–31; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Hodegetria," 384–85.
 87. For the Akathistos cycles, see E. Constantinides, *The Wall Paintings of the Panagia Olympiotissa at Elasson in Northern Thessaly*, 2 vols. (Publications of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens, 2) (Athens: Canadian Archaeological Institute, 1992). The author dates this earliest

extant cycle to 1295–96. Yet this date needs to be revised, for the Palaiologan ceremonies with the Hodegetria did not develop until after 1328 (when Andronikos II transferred his imperial authority to Andronikos III); see Angelidi and Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Hodegetria," 383–84. For the Akathistos cycles in manuscripts from Serbia and Bulgaria, see A. Djurova, *Tomich Psalter*, 2 vols. (Monumenta Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia, 1) (Sofia: Kliment Ohridski, 1990); H. Belting, with Suzy Dufrenne, Svetozar Radoičić, Rainer Stichel, and Ihor Ševčenko, *Der Serbische Psalter: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag, 1978); G. M. Prohorov, "A Codicological Analysis of the Illuminated Akathistos to the Virgin," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 239–53; V. D. Lihačova, "The Illumination of the Greek Manuscript of the Akathistos Hymn, Moscow (State Historical Museum, Synodal Gr. 429)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 255–64.

88. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*.
89. For the link with the monastic rite, see Ševčenko, "Icons in the liturgy," 56, and her textual evidence in Symeon Thessaloniki PG 155, col. 621C. On Hesychasm, see Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*, 91–99.
90. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos*, 13–16, 18–24; G. Babić, "Bogorodičin Akathist," in *Mural Painting of the Monastery of Dečani: Material and Studies*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1995), 149–59.
91. The icon is even identified by the name ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ written next to the image.

Conclusion

1. *Descriptio II* (in Latin), ed. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," 128.
2. H. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Abbreviations

AASS

Acta Sanctorum, ed. J. Bolland, 71 vols. (Paris: Palmé, 1863–1940)

BDEC

The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity, ed. K. Parry, D. Melling, D. Brady, S. Griffith, and J. Healey (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999)

BHG

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, ed. F. Halkin, 3d ed., 3 vols. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957)

CSHB

Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae

CFHB

Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae

CHEYNET, SEYRIG

J.-C. Cheynet, C. Morisson, and W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1991)

DOC

Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, ed. A. Bellinger and P. Grierson, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966–73; rpt. 1992)

JE

Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab Condita Ecclesia ad Annum post Christum Natum MCXCVIII, ed. P. Jaffé (Leipzig: Veit et Comp., 1885–88; rpt. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956)

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LAURENT, ÉGLISE, SUPPLÉMENT

V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin: L'Église, Supplément* (Paris: Centre de la recherche scientifique, 1972)

LCL

Loeb Classical Library

LP

Le Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1981)

LSJ

A Greek-English Lexikon, ed. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889; rev. ed. 1996).

OCD

The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

ODB

Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

PG

Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857–66)

PGL

A Patristic Greek Lexicon, ed. G. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)

PL

Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–91)

RE (NEUE)

Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike, ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996–)

RIC

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SEIBT, ÖSTERREICH

W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, vol. 1, *Kaiserhof* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978)

SYNAXCP

Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano Nunc Berolinensi, ed. H. Delehay et al. (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum*, 63) (Brussels: Apud Socios Bollandianos, 1902)

TLG

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, online database, <http://ptolemy.tlg.uci.edu/~tlg/> (Irvine: University of California, [2001])

TLL

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Editus Auctoritate et Consilio Academicarum Quingue Germanicarum Berolinensis, Göttingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis (Leipzig: Teubner 1900–)

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